FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-050
Thursday
16 March 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-050 CONTENTS *16 March 1989*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Baker Sees 'Convergence' in Superpower Positions *[Moscow Radio]* 1
USSR, Western Envoys View CFE Opening *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 1
Article Criticizes FRG Arms Developments *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Mar]* 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Further on 15 March Gerasimov Briefing 4
    U.S. Attache Expelled *[TASS]* 4
    U.S. Arrest of Soviet 'Provocation' *[TASS]* 4
    Afghanistan Situation Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 5
Soviet Delegate Addresses UN Commission *[TASS]* 5
    Further on Session Remarks *[TASS]* 6
Acceptance of UN Court Jurisdiction Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 10 Mar]* 7

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

'Definite Military Element' in Discovery Mission *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 9
Vernon Walters Lauds Gorbachev's 'New Course' *[TASS]* 9
Bush Administration Seeks Continued Contra Aid *[TASS]* 9
McFarlane Cited on Reagan Role in Iran-Contra *[TASS]* 10
U.S. Seeks To Retrieve Afghan Rebel Stingers *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 10
'Neoglobalism' in Bush Administration Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Mar]* 10
Bush E. Asia Visit, Importance of Region Viewed *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 12
CPSU's Yefimov Meets U.S. Schoolchildren *[TASS]* 13

China

Soviet, PRC Officials Hold Talks in Moscow 6-13 Mar *[TASS]* 13
PRC Official on CPSU Ties, Upcoming Summit *[IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]* 13
USSR To Take 'Extensive' Part in PRC Firms *[Moscow Radio]* 13
1989 Soviet-PRC Trade Protocol Described *[Moscow International]* 14
Soviet Trade Officials Visit Heilongjiang Fair *[Moscow International]* 15
Expanding Soviet-Chinese Relations Viewed *[Moscow International]* 15
Thai Premier, PRC Leaders Discuss Cambodia *[(Karyatin) on Moscow International]* 15
Zhao Ziyang Said Willing To Slow PRC Growth *[PRAVDA 16 Mar]* 16
Riots Seen 'Retarding' Tibet's Development *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 16

Northeast Asia

USSR To Withdraw Tank, Air Divisions in MPR *[TASS]* 16
DPRK Forces in State of 'Combat Readiness' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Mar]* 16

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Kamentsev Receives Philippine Trade Minister *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 17
Vietnamese Agitprop Chief Visits USSR *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 17

Near East & South Asia

- USSR Statement on Afghanistan Circulated at UN *[TASS]* 17
- Afghan Envoy Sees Victory Over Jalalabad Rebels *[PRAVDA 15 Mar]* 17
- Rebel Attack on Jalalabad Being Pushed Back *[TASS]* 18
- New U.S. Missiles Used in Jalalabad Fighting *[TASS]* 18
- Jalalabad, Kabul Situation Reported 15 Mar *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 19
- Pakistan Said Coordinating Jalalabad Offensive *[Moscow Radio]* 19
- Pakistani 'Aggression' in Afghanistan Decried *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 19
- Pakistan Lawmaker Fears Spillover of Afghan War *[IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]* 20
- Najibullah's 'Voice of Reason' Urges Negotiation *[Malikov on Moscow Radio]* 21
- Afghan Rebels' Hikmatyar Seeking ICO Support *[Moscow International]* 21
- ICO Leaders Urged Not To Recognize Afghan Rebels *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 22
- Iranian, Iraqi Reports of Border Clash Cited *[PRAVDA 16 Mar]* 22
- Possible Sale of 60 F-16's to Pakistan Viewed *[Ivanov on Moscow International]* 23
- Petrovskiy, Egyptian Envoy Discuss Mideast, Gulf *[IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]* 23
- Libya Refutes U.S. Charges on Chemical Weapons *[TASS]* 23

Sub-Saharan Africa

- Anatoliy Gromyko on London Africa Talks *[TASS]* 23
- Calls for Sudan Cease-Fire Increase *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 24
- Somali Ties With Ethiopia, USSR Improve *[PRAVDA 12 Mar]* 24
- Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed in Lagos *[Moscow International]* 25

East Europe

- Jaruzelski Criticizes 'Anti-Soviet Outbursts' *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 25
- Hungarian Assembly Debates New Constitution *[IZVESTIYA 11 Mar]* 25
- Aims of MSZMP Short-Term Program Outlined *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Mar]* 26
- New Hungarian Groups Lack Mass Base *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Mar]* 26
- CSSR's Jakes Cited on Dubcek's Present Role *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Mar]* 27
- SFRY Chamber Adopts Government Changes *[TASS]* 28
- Yugoslav Envoy Received at Foreign Ministry *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 28
- Mine Blasting Causes Tremor in GDR *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 28

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

- Text of Gorbachev Speech to Agriculture Plenum *[Moscow TV]* 29
- Reportage on CPSU Central Committee Plenum 49
  - Gorbachev Opens Plenum *[Moscow TV]* 49
  - 25 Absent With Reason *[Moscow TV]* 50
  - Plenum Information Report *[PRAVDA 16 Mar]* 50
  - Letters Criticize Party Candidates *[TASS]* 50
  - Gorbachev Interviewed, Shown Voting *[Moscow TV]* 51
  - Jan Plenum Abstention on Ligachev Noted *[TASS]* 52
  - Debates on Gorbachev Report Begin *[TASS]* 52
  - Gorbachev's Main Theses Supported *[TASS]* 52
- TASS Analyst Comments on Agrarian Plenum *[Kulik]* 53
- Elections Process Continues; Candidates Campaign 54
  - * Election Meetings Provide Lessons *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 4 Mar]* 54
  - Elections Discussed in Volgograd *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Mar]* 56
  - Peace Advocate Candidates Elected *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 57
  - Ryzhkov Gives Speech in Barnaul *[PRAVDA 15 Mar]* 57
  - More on Shcherbitskiy Address 2 Mar *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 4 Mar]* 61
- CPSU Urged To Foster Communists' Initiative *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 67
- * Return of Solzhenitsyn to 'Motherland' Urged *[XX CENTURY AND PEACE No 1]* 67
- KGB's Investigative Process Described, Examined 69
  - In Response to Readers' Letters *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Mar]* 69

Case of Soviet Spy Related *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Mar]* 71
Lefortovo Prison Facility Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Mar]* 73
MVD Releases Figures on Prison Colonies Population *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 75
'Thousands' of Russians Demonstrate in Tallinn *[TASS]* 76
Russian Criticizes Lithuanian Language Law *[IZVESTIYA 11 Mar]* 76
Secrecy Blamed for Latvian Radiation Rumors *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 78
Georgian Landslide Causes Flooding, Loss of Life *[TASS]* 78
'Raging' Elements Precipitate Disaster *[Moscow TV]* 79
Armenian Refugees' 'Difficult' Problems Unresolved *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Mar]* 79
'Hundreds' Rally in Dushanbe for Tajik Language *[KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 26 Feb]* 81
Army Language Barrier Problems Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Mar]* 82
* Nuclear Lighter Inspected, Allowed to Unload *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 12 Mar]* 84

Economic

Oil Exports Cut To Meet OPEC Interests *[PRAVDA 12 Mar]* 84
Yakovlev on Obstructions to Development, Reforms *[Moscow International]* 85
Cooperatives Burdened by High Tax Rates *[Kuteynikov in MOSCOW NEWS No 10]* 85

Agricultural

Zholobov Interviewed on Grain Shortage *[TASS]* 86
Tula Oblast Rural Management Structure Formed *[IZVESTIYA 10 Mar]* 86
Agricultural Developments for 9-14 March 88

Scientific

'Phobos' Mission Continues Experiments *[TASS]* 88

Military

Defense Industry Minister Discusses Conversion *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 89
Yazov Thanks Sailors for Persian Gulf Service *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Mar]* 91
* Military Tribunal Resentences Officer *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 15 March]* 91

Baker Sees 'Convergence' in Superpower Positions

LD1503233889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2147 GMT 15 Mar 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Aleksandr Koshunov]

[Text] There are reports from Washington about Secretary of State Baker's appearance in the U.S. Congress. He answered questions during a hearing on the administration's allocations for U.S. foreign policy. In fact, Baker's answers can be divided into two groups: The first is the U.S. leadership's views on the significance of restructuring in the USSR, and the second is the course of negotiations on the limitation of arms of different classes and types. Speaking about restructuring in the USSR, Baker said that in the opinion of the United States it is in the interests of both the USSR and the entire world.

Touching on the recent Vienna meeting with the Soviet foreign minister, Baker noted, and I quote: We agreed that the agenda of our relations should be expanded and should include the problems of nonproliferation of missiles and chemical weapons as well as global questions: the state of the environment, drugs, and terrorism.

Baker also said that Washington has postponed the resumption of talks with the USSR about reductions in strategic weapons in order to study U.S. strategic policy—it is a question of elaborating the new administration's definitive position on this matter. In Baker's words there is a convergence in the positions of the two superpowers regarding reductions in conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

USSR, Western Envoys View CFE Opening

PM1503170389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Confidence Promotes Disarmament"]

[Text] Vienna—Following the foreign ministers' 3-day meeting, the debate in Vienna on confidence- and security-building measures and conventional armed forces has entered the business phase.

At the talks on confidence-building measures, Bulgarian delegation head Luben Petrov and Canadian delegation head David Peel, respectively, expounded the socialist countries' and the West's concepts.

Initial data was also exchanged on questions of conventional armed forces. The participants in the forums are now engaged in studying the proposals put forward in the sphere of conventional armed forces. How do the delegation heads assess the beginning of the talks? Three of them give their opinion as follows:

U.S. Ambassador Steven Ledogar: The current talks on armed forces are fundamentally different from all previous talks. They are reassuring and instill optimism. The discussion covers a vast area—from the Atlantic to the Urals—and concerns not only part of Europe, as was the case at the ill-starred talks on disarmament in central Europe that ended in deadlock. To be frank, those unsuccessful talks helped us in some ways. We gained experience and wisdom and will not repeat the old mistakes. The international situation itself is also favorable. Both East and West have the same view of the disarmament problem and have agreed to embark on arms reductions, especially of those types of weapons designed for offensive purposes—tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers. What is more, the sides have agreed to verification. That is very important. The Warsaw Pact countries want aircraft and helicopters to be included in the discussion. We are prepared to think about this. But there is to be no question of nuclear weapons here.

Ambassador Guenter Joetze, FRG: As our Minister Genscher said at the last foreign ministers' meeting, predictability engenders confidence and confidence promotes disarmament. I think that we should not lose sight of this linkage between confidence and disarmament. On the contrary, it is advisable for it to be the theme of our talks. Mutual exchange of military information and notification of new conventional arms systems is of very great significance. Open and businesslike exchange of information regarding the quantity and deployment of troops is the point of departure, and without that it is hard to imagine the new phase of confidence-building for which we are striving. The states participating in the talks must have a complete and, where possible, accurate picture of the surface forces and surface-based air forces over the whole area—from the Atlantic to the Urals. Knowledge of these structures and quantities of arms is the prerequisite for fruitful dialogue on military intentions and military concepts.

Oleg Alekseyevich Grinevskiy, special ambassador, USSR: I will not undertake to make a definitive assessment of the West's positions now. NATO's proposals require detailed study. I can only voice a few preliminary ideas. Despite the existing differences in the sides' views, one can also glimpse a number of similar elements. The Warsaw Pact and NATO give priority to the immediate reduction of three categories of arms constituting the potential for a surprise attack. Of course, we do not close our eyes to the fact that there is a difficult road ahead to agree on the categories of these arms.

Both sides have agreed to reduce their armed forces and conventional arms to equal levels, lower than the sides' present lowest levels. After the elimination of the imbalances, the Warsaw Pact proposes cutting the sides' troops and arms by 10-15 percent, whereas NATO proposes a figure of 5-10 percent. We have both stated our intention to avoid the futile discussion of figures that led to deadlock in the talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe. The debate must, obviously, be geared to the examination of the definite categories of armed forces and arms to be reduced, and common criteria and methods of counting them in order to ensure that we are not bogged down in endless disputes about whose figures are correct. Our views also coincide on strict international verification, including on-site inspections.

Let us give this some thought: Do not all these areas of mutual understanding together constitute the outlines of a preliminary accord? By putting the question that way, we can also see the difficulties, and there are a considerable number of them. At first glance the NATO proposals provoke a number of questions: To what extent do these proposals accord with the terms of the Vienna mandate on the subject of the talks, which includes conventional arms and equipment? What is the subject of the NATO proposals: the reduction of three categories of arms? That is by no means what was envisaged by the mandate for the talks, and it does not solve the problems of preventing surprise attacks.

The NATO document does not say a word about the numerical strength of troops. Nor can we understand why frontal strike aviation has been left out of the NATO proposals when the Vienna mandate proposes including this in the subject of the talks. It is well known that the mandate of the talks requires, as a priority, the elimination of the potential for a surprise attack. Aviation that constitutes a first-strike weapon is precisely this kind of potential.

Combat helicopters with high mobility and firepower are another contemporary means of surprise attack. Of course they also should be included in the reductions package.

The general exchange of opinions now under way is undoubtedly important, but it must not be protracted and we must not confine ourselves to this alone. We must create the kind of negotiating structure that will facilitate the speediest elaboration of the various components of a future accord. Obviously, it is worth contemplating the creation of working groups, each of which would have a concrete thrust. For our part, we are prepared to examine all constructive ideas that may promote progress at the talks.

Thus, dialogue has begun. Concepts have been expounded. Both common approaches and differences of opinion have been detected in the sides' positions. In the years of confrontation in Europe, not only have the mountains of weapons grown, but mistrust in one another has also deepened. Neither will disappear of its own accord; a lot of hard work will be needed.

Article Criticizes FRG Arms Developments

PM1303113589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Captain M. Zheglov "Pertinent Notes": "How the FRG Is Entering the 21st Century"]

[Text] The FRG Defense Ministry recently issued a report alleging that "the Soviet Union has been extensively modernizing its tactical nuclear weapons arsenal since the early eighties." This report cannot fail to attract attention—all the more so because there should be fewer and fewer grounds now for any doubts as a result of the complex negotiating mechanism and the extensive and comprehensive confidence-building and international verification measures operating in the military sphere. After addressing an inquiry to the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, I received an authoritative statement to the effect that our country is not currently modernizing its tactical nuclear weapons and that the FRG Defense Ministry report is a sheer fabrication.

In this regard the question naturally arises as to why the West German military department needed the statement. The facts show that the release of the report by the FRG Defense Ministry is not so much a reflection of the sincere concern of military men and political circles in West Germany about the "Soviet threat," as a smokescreen for their own plans to develop qualitatively new types of weaponry, such as the attempt to develop the Kolas missile system by the MBB military concern in collaboration with a number of U.S. firms.

This missile with a range of less than 500 km is intended, in the plans of the West German military department, to take over the current functions of strike aircraft for strikes against stationary targets such as airfields. It is assumed that the new missile will be able to bypass air defense systems without any problems, thanks to its specific flight path and high speed.

Numerous speeches by ranking West German military men on this subject have repeatedly stressed that this is a conventional weapons system and that the new missile cannot be fitted with a nuclear warhead. But is that actually the case? The newspaper HEILBRONNER STIMME wrote in this connection: "References to the fact that these FRG-produced weapons should not be used for nuclear warheads are as impudent as they are unconvincing. Almost all modern delivery systems are designed or suitable for different munitions. This means that electronic guidance systems guide the missile warhead to the target, regardless of whether it is nuclear-tipped. The only important thing is that the weight and size [ves i massa] should correspond.

After the information about attempts to develop new short-range missiles in the FRG became public, the Federal Government, as a West German newspaper aptly put it, feverishly slammed on the emergency brakes. The temporary suspension of this military research and experimental program was announced. It was stressed that this step was being taken in the light of the "positive signs of disarmament coming from the East" and in connection with the talks on conventional armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals.

It would seem that the decision to halt the "missile" work cannot arouse anything but satisfaction. If, that is, we were talking about a final decision rather than a temporary measure that could be lifted at any time. It was no accident that the newspaper HAMBURGER MORGENPOST directly pointed out: "We should not trust the statements coming out of Bonn: A new West German missile will appear—it is just a question of time. The maneuvers being used in an attempt to reassure the public are too transparent."

It would be tempting to think that the above words constitute a journalistic exaggeration. Ultimately it was the FRG that largely helped make the historic Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles a reality by adopting a constructive position on the Pershing-1A missiles. The FRG's official position on chemical weapons and certain other aspects of the arms limitation and reduction process is also based on common sense. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that for a long time people on the Rhine have been expressing readiness to safeguard peace with smaller numbers of weapons.

Yet the facts show that the FRG is planning to acquire weapons that are increasingly modern. In West Germany 26 military and 38 civilian scientific research organizations—employing more than 100,000 people according to press reports—are currently engaged in developing new programs for the Bundeswehr. State subsidies for research on the development of new weapons systems and combat hardware are also increasing with every passing year. Thus, spending in this area has grown from DM640 million in 1984 to DM840 million in 1987. Channeled through "think tanks" working in the Bundeswehr's interests, these hundreds of millions of marks have been transformed into something new—a wide-ranging program for reequipping the West German Armed Forces in 1989-2001. How does the FRG intend to enter the 21st century?

The new-generation Leopard-3 tanks and Marder-2 infantry combat vehicles are due to enter service by then. The high-accuracy 155 mm projectile standardized for all NATO artillery systems, the 155-mm PzH 2000 self-propelled howitzer, and the MARS [as published] multiple rocket launch system together with a new cluster warhead for this system will have entered service.

It is the intention of the Bundeswehr commanders that the Bundeswehr's combat capabilities will also be significantly enhanced by the entry into service of the EFA tactical fighter, the PAH-2 antitank helicopter, the tactical transport and ASW variants of the NH 90 helicopter, air-to-surface guided weapons with a range of less than 600 km, an Aegis frigate, and a new surface-to-air missile complex to combat ASW aircraft.

West German firms' work under the "Star Wars" program will also be actively continued, particularly in the sphere of the development of high-energy lasers, electromagnetic guns, and surface-to-air missiles.

One's attention is also drawn to the fact that priority is being given to precisely the kinds of hardware and armament prototypes that would allow NATO to reinforce its advantage or gain new advantages in the military sphere. Need it be said that these measures not only are not conducive to the strengthening of confidence in relations between states, but actually create serious obstacles to a secure world.

The FRG signed the Vienna meeting final document. It thereby expressed readiness to promote constructive progress at the Vienna talks that began recently and to make its contribution to the further normalization of the situation on the continent. One would like to hope that this will be the case, and that its actions will match its words.

Further on 15 March Gerasimov Briefing

U.S. Attache Expelled

LD1503112989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 March (TASS)—The briefing held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center today was almost completely devoted to the theme of Soviet-American relations.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, reported to journalists that a representative of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow was summoned to the USSR Foreign Ministry on 14 March, and a resolute protest was made to him in connection with the detention on 8 March 1989 of the Soviet assistant miliary attache, Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov.

G. Gerasimov said that the point at issue was a preplanned action against a Soviet diplomatic worker who, contrary to the American side's assertions, had carried out no actions which were incompatible with his status. The protest of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses that this whole provocative scheme in no way tallies with the trend toward the further development of Soviet-American dialogue in a spirit of peaceful cooperation and mutual understanding. By deciding to throw Pakthusov out, the American side was taking upon itself total responsiblity.

Gennadiy Gerasimov reported that the American assistant military attache Lieutenant Colonel F. van Gundy had been declared persona non grata in connection with the fact that he had used his diplomatic status to conduct prohibited activity on the territory of the USSR. He has to leave the Soviet Union within 48 hours.

Replying to journalists' questions, the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry noted that a regular and dismaying wave of spy mania was arising in the United States precisely at a time when possibilities were appearing for an improvement in Soviet-American relations. He stressed that the Soviet Union had not initiated the expulsion of the American lieutenant colonel: This was a reply to a provocation against a Soviet diplomat.

The spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry drew journalists' attention to reports in the U.S. press giving a prejudiced evaluation of the results of the trip to the Soviet Union by American psychiatrists. He recalled in this connection that the leaders of the delegation had, at a news conference in Moscow, given a positive assessment of the results of this trip, as had the U.S. State Department, and had noted the unprecedented degree of openness.

As an example of the positive trends in Soviet-American relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov cited the case of Masha Sinotova, a little girl from Leningrad who was suffering from multiple heart defects which were considered incurable.

The public figure Joan McGovern, an inhabitant of Oakland, learned of her disease during her stay in Leningrad last year. On her return to the United States, she organized a collection of funds to invite the child and her mother for an operation and postsurgical treatment. The hospital staff in Oakland performed the operation for free, and all of the funds needed for postsurgical treatment and for the child and her mother to stay in the United States were covered from charitable donations.

The USSR Foreign Ministry representative expressed gratitude to all Americans who had taken part in saving Masha. The operation had been a success, and Masha and her mother are returning home on 25 March.

U.S. Arrest of Soviet 'Provocation'

LD1503122889 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—Addressing a briefing here on Wednesday, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, made the following statement:

On March 14 Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, summoned to the Foreign Ministry Raymond Smith, acting minister plenipotentiary—counsellor of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. A resolute protest was made to him in connection with the arrest on March 8, 1988, of Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov, USSR assistant military attache.

All the circumstances of this incident clearly show that it was a deliberate step planned in advance that was directed against the Soviet diplomat who, contrary to the assertions of the U.S. side, had not done anything incompatible with his status.

The U.S. secret services tried to present things in such a way as though at the moment of his arrest Pakhtusov was receiving from an American citizen a parcel with secret documents. However, in reality it was a provocation staged rather clumsily by the FBI. Pakhtusov's neighbour, an American citizen, saw Pakhtusov at a staircase when the latter was taking a garbage basket out from his flat and invited him to his place under the pretext that he wanted Pakhtusov's advice concerning the repair of a TV-set.

When they were discussing this technical subject connected, however, with a household utensil, the host attempted all of a sudden to give him a parcel which Pakhtusov refused to take. At that very moment FBI agents broke into the flat and, resorting to force, handcuffed Pakhtusov despite his protests and explanations that he had diplomatic immunity and was ready to show his identification certificate. Later on, as has already been pointed out here, Pakhtusov was denied permission to contact the Soviet Embassy and was persuaded to commit high treason.

According to a protest note of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, this provocation does not fit in with the trend towards a further development of the Soviet-American dialogue in the spirit of peaceful cooperation and mutual understanding. When deciding to expel Pakhtusov who did not violate his diplomatic status, the American side took upon itself all the responsibility for this step.

At the same time, the attention of the U.S. Embassy was called to the fact that Lieutenant Colonel Daniel van Gundy U.S. assistant military attache, was using his diplomatic status for engaging in forbidden activities on Soviet territory. In this connection the representative of the U.S. Embassy was told that Lieutenant Colonel Daniel van Gundy was declared persona non grata and was given 48 hours to leave the USSR.

In addition to this official protest Gerasimov pointed out that Van Gundy had tried to penetrate a closed area, had deliberately diverted from an officially permitted route, had clandestinely photographed military sites and had committed other gross violations of the diplomatic regime.

Afghanistan Situation Discussed

LD1503231389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Today a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists took place in Moscow at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry on current international issues. It was conducted by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. This is what he said about the situation in Afghanistan:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] The offensive against Jalalabad by Pakistani militia and detachments of the armed opposition is continuing. The offensive is supported by artillery and helicopters from the Pakistani Armed Forces. Pakistani and other foreign advisors are taking part in planning and implementing the operation. The Pakistani Army is providing rear services support for those carrying out the offensive.

The Afghan Armed Forces, during the course of dogged battles, forced their opponent to retreat in a number of sectors. With large losses to their opponent, an offensive from the direction of (Shiva) was repulsed. Here about 500 people taking part in the offensive were wiped out. A prisoner captured near Jalalabad reported that the joint Pakistani-mujahidin operation to take Jalalabad was worked out in Peshawar and it is being led by Brigadier Jan Jva, a member of Pakistan's military intelligence service. On 14 March six notes relating to the nonobservance of the Geneva accords by Pakistan were sent by the Afghan Foreign Ministry to the UN mission in Kabul.

There is an interesting point connected with the Stingers. We warned that it was very dangerous to hand Stingers over to the rebels because they could leave their hands and be transferred elsewhere, then return like a boomerang to those who sold them. Now there are strong fears that these very Stingers may be found at the disposal of terrorist organizations in the Near East and may in the future be used against U.S. targets. People in Washington have started thinking about how to get these Stingers back. Even the option of buying the Stingers from groups of the Alliance of Seven is being studied.

In general, despite the numerous prognoses in the West about the quick fall of the Najibullah government after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the tone of reports and commentaries in the West is now changing, and it is acknowledged that Kabul is holding, and people are speaking about protracted bloodshed, which we warned of—the danger of a serious, bloody civil war if there is no national reconciliation. [end recording]

Soviet Delegate Addresses UN Commission

LD1503144189 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 15 TASS—The principal idea running through speeches made here by delegates to the session of the U.N. Commission for Social Development is that the turn in international politics from confrontation to cooperation, the efforts to curb the arms race and the new political thinking gaining in strength in international affairs create a favourable atmosphere for the establishment of all-round cooperation in the solution of acute social problems facing mankind.

Soviet chief Delegate Vladimir Vinogradov emphasised in his speech that the commission should become the centre for international cooperation in the socio-humanitarian field. The Vienna-based Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Issues is called upon to play an important role in this respect.

"Social problems are of universal importance", the Soviet representative pointed out. "The experience in tackling social problems in some countries may prove of benefit to other ones. The Soviet Union is ready for a constructive dialogue on any social issues with all countries with a view to improving the social atmosphere in the world".

Having emphasised the importance of the declaration on social progress and development for the establishment of international cooperation in strengthening the socio-legal aspects of the activities of the countries, the leader of the Soviet delegation initiated a proposal on the elaboration of a charter of universal social values. Such a document could take into account the experience of socialist and capitalist, developed and developing, big and small countries in dealing with social matters and social protection.

"The commission could initiate the establishment of a mechanism for the development of regional cooperation in the social sphere. The Soviet Union suggests considering as the first step in this respect the possibility of concluding an all-European agreement on cooperation in the pursuance of social policy. Such agreement could serve as an example to other regions of the world and be of importance for inter-regional cooperation."

With a view to raising the effectiveness of work in the socio-humanitarian sphere, the Soviet delegation leader introduced a number of proposals on enlarging the commission, which would meet the increased importance of social problems in the world, on holding a special session in 1990 to deal with youth problems, and on considering in-depth matters concerning the people's social status in the developing countries at the next regular session.

Touching upon the restructuring process in the Soviet Union the Soviet representative pointed out that the current deep-going transformations centre on the interests of the individual, the establishment of an atmosphere of social protection of everyone and the strengthening of social justice.

"The task of considerably raising the quality of all types of social maintenance in the Soviet Union is urgent".

"The supreme power bodies and the government have already adopted important decisions and elaborated large-scale programmes, including those for housing construction for the period ending in the year 2000 (the purpose is to provide every family with a self-contained apartment or a house), public education and medical service. All these measures will broaden opportunities for the Soviet Union's more active participation in international social cooperation programmes at state and non-governmental levels", the leader of the Soviet delegation pointed out in conclusion.

Further on Session Remarks

LD1603034789 Moscow TASS in English 0022 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Tumanov:

A turn in international relations from confrontation to cooperation, the curbing of the arms race and the ever more powerful new political thinking in international affairs are creating a favourable atmosphere for promoting comprehensive collaboration in tackling the acute social problems facing mankind right now. This is the leit-motif of speeches at the current session of the U.N. Social Development Commission.

The speakers centre round the report on the world's social situation in 1989.

Margaret Anstee, director general of the U.N. agency in Vienna, said that a warmer international climate creates preconditions for solving some pressing social problems and the United Nations is called upon to play a key role in this.

An understanding is growing that acute social problems, to which the U.N. has paid inexcusably little attention so far, breed grave crises in society, she said.

Head of Soviet delegation Vladimir Vinogradov, foreign minister of the Russian Federation, said that the commission should serve as a centre of international cooperation in the social and humanitarian fields.

The Soviet Union, he said, is ready to engage in constructive dialogue with any country on any social issue.

Speaking of the process of restructuring underway in the Soviet Union at present, the Soviet representative said that it focusses on man's vital interests, and the profound transformations have as their aim creating a situation in which each and every person will enjoy social security under the principles of justice.

A number of Soviet proposals for expanded cooperation and enhanced efficiency of joint work in the social and humanitarian fields met with a positive response at the session.

The Soviet Union, the speaker said, proposes to work out a charter of common social values that will encompass the experience of different nations in handling social issues, and also to consider the opportunity of concluding an all-Europe agreement on cooperation in social policies.

An agreement of this kind could provide a good example for other regions to emulate and possibly stimulate inter-regional cooperation as well.

The session participants welcomed the suggestion to enlarge the commission's membership. This is in line with the increased significance of social issues in the world, and with the holding in 1990 of a special session devoted to the problems of young people and a further in-depth examination at the following session of the social situation in developing countries.

Acceptance of UN Court Jurisdiction Assessed

PM1503145089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Yu.M. Rybakov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Law Administration, by P. Golub: "We Give Priority to the Law"; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree on the basis of which the Soviet Union accepts the compulsory jurisdiction of the UN International Court of Justice [ICJ] on a number of the most important multilateral conventions. We asked Yu.M. Rybakov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Law Administration, to comment on this step.

[Golub] The publication of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree has allowed us to see that, regrettably, we are not very well-informed about ICJ activities. Could you briefly tell us, Yuriy Mikhaylovich, just what kind of organ it is and what acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction means?

[Rybakov] The ICJ is one of the main UN organs, and its statutes are part and parcel of the UN Charter. All UN members can submit disputes arising between them for examination by this international judicial mechanism.

There are different forms of recognition of jurisdiction. Most states, including the USSR, have pledged to use the court in the context of specific agreements. A state is entitled to stipulate that a dispute may only be resolved by the court with the consent of all parties to the dispute. However, by prior agreement it is possible for a dispute to be passed to the court at the request of just one party. In this case the state is deemed to have accepted the ICJ's compulsory jurisdiction.

[Golub] What is the attitude of other members of the international community and the USSR's Security Council partners toward this UN organ?

[Rybakov] A number of states—there are several dozen of them—have made general statements, irrespective of specific agreements, to the effect that they accept the ICJ's compulsory jurisdiction. Such statements, as a rule, are accompanied by major provisos excluding certain kinds of disputes—territorial disputes, border disputes, and so forth—from the sphere to which such jurisdiction applies.

As for Security Council members, the United States, for instance, made a general statement in 1946 accepting compulsory ICJ jurisdiction, but countermanded the statement in 1987. The United States took this step after Nicaragua brought before the court a case connected with the waging of military operations against that country. The court, as is well known, decided in Nicaragua's favor.

France also initially accepted the court's compulsory jurisdiction, but it annulled its statement in 1974 when Australia and New Zealand lodged a complaint with the ICJ over its nuclear tests in the Pacific. Britain too has made a general statement. It has not withdrawn it, but the statement contains substantial riders that restricts its sphere of application.

The PRC and the USSR have not made general statements, employing instead the practice of accepting compulsory jurisdiction on certain specific agreements.

Thus, the existing system for accepting compulsory jurisdiction has promoted the present-day resolution of disagreements to a comparatively small extent. In the court's more than 40-year history states have appealed to it just over 50 times, and it has refused to examine certain disputes for specific reasons.

[Golub] What prompted our current decision to step up our participation in this organ's activity? What, in your opinion, could enhance the ICJ's effectiveness?

[Rybakov] This step must be seen in the overall context of our new political thinking and our concept of comprehensive international security, which should be based on the principles of the UN Charter and the binding nature of international law for all states. As was recently stressed in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech, our ideal is a world community of states governed by the rule of law and subordinating their foreign policy activities to the law. This also applies to such a complex and delicate area as the peaceful settlement of disputes.

There is a great diversity of means available to international law and practice for settling dissension peacefully. This is meaningfully reflected in Article 33 of the UN Charter, which states that in the event of disputes, states should resort to talks, mediation, judicial investigation, and so forth, as well as any other means they may choose. The task now, however, is not only to develop some new approaches but to breathe new life into traditional means for achieving peaceful settlements, including the ICJ. By virtue of its position as the universal security organization's chief judicial organ, it is called upon to play a weighty role in the peaceful resolution of interstate dissension.

The court has to its credit many decisions which have promoted the settlement of conflicts and discord. For instance, the court's recent 1988 advisory opinion promoted the fair resolution of the question of the legal position of the PLO's permanent observer in New York.

The court's rulings make a useful contribution to deepening the content and fleshing out the existing principles and norms of international law. In this respect one can cite, in particular, the rulings on fishery disputes between Britain and Iceland and the FRG and Iceland. These rulings were very useful for the development of international maritime law.

Now, at a time when states are increasingly interrelated and interdependent, we must seek new ways and approaches in order to ensure the more effective utilization of existing international mechanisms, including the ICJ. The concept advanced by the Soviet Union of accepting compulsory ICJ jurisdiction on mutually agreed terms is aimed at doing just that. It is logical that the first step in this direction was taken by the permanent members of the Security Council as states charged by the UN Charter with a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

Needless to say, the effectiveness of any international mechanism ultimately depends on the growth of confidence, mutual understanding, and cooperation among states. But at the same time, greater respect for legal norms of regulating international life and the resolution of disputes in a civilized manner and by exclusively peaceful means, including with the help of judicial means, will undoubtedly strengthen stability and create more favorable conditions for international discourse.

[Golub] In accepting compulsory ICJ jurisdiction, the USSR removed the provisos it had made with regard to a whole series of multilateral conventions in the human rights sphere. Why was that?

[Rybakov] Guided by the idea of humanizing international relations, we attach great importance to enhancing the role of instruments of international law for safeguarding the rights of the individual. In this sphere a number of universal conventions have been worked out through collective efforts—conventions which contain important standards of fundamental importance not only for interstate cooperation but also for the improvement of national legislation on questions of safeguarding citizens' rights. The prohibition in international law of such barbarous crimes as genocide, apartheid, racial discrimination, and torture are an achievement for mankind's legal culture.

Many international treaties pertaining to human rights have their own mechanisms for resolving disputes. For instance, the international pact on civil and political rights envisages a special organ—the Human Rights Committee. An expert from the USSR takes part in its work. At the same time, a number of important agreements on human rights stipulate appeals to the ICJ in the event of disputes. In our opinion, the ICJ can play a very useful role in this area.

Our decision to remove provisos and, correspondingly, to accept the court's compulsory jurisdiction on the conventions preventing the crime of genocide, the conventions on the political rights of women, on combating the slave trade, on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, and others is also a direct practical step in this direction.

In making this decision the Soviet Union was guided by the interests of developing cooperation in the humanitarian sphere and by the tasks of strengthening international law and order, which ensures the primacy of the law in politics.

United States & Canada

'Definite Military Element' in Discovery Mission

PM1603110189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Shalnev report: "Discovery in Orbit"]

[Text] New York—Five astronauts, four rats, 34 chicken eggs, and a communications satellite. The latest shuttle, the Discovery, was launched into space Monday with this "crew." The launch, which was postponed for almost a month due to various types of technical faults, was almost aborted once again: It was hampered by a very thick fog over the Cape Canaveral launch center in Florida and very strong winds. But the fog dispersed, the winds died down, and the Discovery took off.

This is the first space shuttle expedition this year, and the third since NASA resumed its flights in the program interrupted by the loss of the Challenger in January 1986. There will be six more flights by December, with three of them—in July, August, and November—assigned entirely to the Pentagon. According to press reports, spy satellites will be launched into orbit during these secret expeditions.

A conventional satellite costing $100 million has been launched during the present expedition. Equipped with its own boosters, the satellite, which is intended to set up a stable communications link between space and earth, will be suspended above our planet at a height of about 22,000 miles.

If everything goes normally, the Discovery flight will end Saturday 18 March when the shuttle lands at Edwards Air Force Base in California. The 5 days of the expedition will be packed with experiments. As ABC-TV has reported, tiny openings have been drilled in the rats' claws so scientists can find out how bones heal in conditions of weightlessness, while the chicken eggs are the object of another experiment that should help give an idea of how the embryo develops in space conditions.

There is also a definite military element in the Discovery program: It is expected that there are to be experiments that, as THE WASHINGTON POST writes, "will assist SDI."

Vernon Walters Lauds Gorbachev's 'New Course'

LD1603093589 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] New York, March 16 TASS—Vernon Walters, former U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations who has now been appointed U.S. ambassador to West Germany, has described the improvement of Soviet-American relations as the most important event of the postwar period. In a farewell interview with journalists at the UN he pointed out that the credit for this should go to Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the opinion of Walters, the Soviet leader set a new course for Soviet foreign policy and turned it into a strategy for the avoidance of confrontation. He said that this could be explained by the fact that the improvement of Soviet people's living standards of the Soviet people [as received] called for normalisation of relations with the rest of the world and the termination of military rivalry with the United States. Walters admitted that the feelings of the West German people, who are aware of the lessening threat from the East, pose one of the most complicated problems for U.S. diplomacy in West Germany and in Western Europe in general.

Walters also described the growing consensus of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on a number of problems. He described resolutions on Afghanistan adopted by the 43rd General Assembly session, the adoption of Security Council Resolution 598 on the settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and UN resolutions on Namibia as vivid examples of their recent cooperation.

Bush Administration Seeks Continued Contra Aid

LD1403094489 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 14 TASS—The Bush Administration will ask Congress to give more than 50 million dollars in extra help to the Nicaraguan contras, the AP news agency reported, referring to American officials.

According to the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES, the plan discussed by the administration involves keeping the Nicaraguan contras in Honduras at least until February 1990 despite the recent peace agreement in the region.

A White House official, Roman Papadiuk, refused to confirm these reports on Monday. Asked about a decision on aid to the contras, he answered that he couldn't give any figures. He also said that United States policy on Nicaragua is being studied at the moment. Different aspects of it are being looked through and the administration is consulting Congress on this question.

According to Washington's Council on Hemispheric Affairs, the Bush Administration's position doesn't take into consideration recent peace initiatives of the Central American presidents. The statement of this organisation said that the White House's intention to continue helping the Nicaraguan contras directly opposes the historic agreement signed by the Central American presidents on February 14th and continues the former administration's tactics aiming at preventing a peaceful solution in the region.

McFarlane Cited on Reagan Role in Iran-Contra

LD1603094589 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT 16 Mar 89

["Reagan's Role in Iran-Contra Revealed by Former Aide"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

President Reagan personally approved in 1985 a secret plan to give 110 million dollars worth of military and economic assistance to Honduras in exchange for its consent to help the Nicaraguan contras and deliver arms to them. This was revealed here on Wednesday by Robert McFarlane, former National Security assistant, at the trial of Oliver North, the main actor in the Iran-Contra affair.

According to McFarlane, after the Honduran military held up the weapons consignment intended for the contras, Reagan personally called up Roberto Suazo Cordova, then president of Honduras, on April 23, 1985 and settled the matter. On the same day the weapons were delivered to the contras.

The issue of granting 110 million dollars to Honduras as payment for its assistance to the contras was so delicate that it was only discussed by John Negroponte, U.S. ambassador to Honduras, and the Honduran president, McFarlane said. All these developments took place at a time when U.S. Congress had banned assistance to the contras.

Commenting on the trial, the CNN television network pointed out that the evidence of the former National Security assistant again raised the possibility of either a statement or an appearance in court by former U.S. President Reagan.

U.S. Seeks To Retrieve Afghan Rebel Stingers

PM1503152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "How Are We To Get the Stingers Back"]

[Text] New York—According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Bush Administration "is feeling increasingly alarmed" that Washington will be unable to recover the Stinger missiles it has given the Afghan mujahidin and that the missiles "may ultimately fall into the hands of terrorists and be used against U.S. facilities."

The alarm is so serious that, according to high-ranking representatives of the administration, a special interagency conference was held in the White House last Wednesday to examine the question of how to get the missiles back. The CIA—that is, the very department that has for several years been responsible for supplying the armed Afghan opposition with the missiles—has been instructed to devise a plan to retrieve the Stingers from the mujahidin.

According to intelligence sources cited by THE NEW YORK TIMES, the armed opposition now has 200-500 Stinger missiles in its possession. It seems impossible to cite a more precise figure: The U.S. Administration "does not have a clear idea of which precise groupings have the Stingers and where and how the missiles are stored," the newspaper says.

At the White House conference there was talk, as you may appreciate, of trying to get the Stingers back in exchange for supplying the rebels with modern civilian equipment: trucks, tractors, and medical and irrigation equipment, for instance. But, THE NEW YORK TIMES reckons, that kind of barter may prove impossible since, whether they return the missiles or not, the insurgents will in any case expect massive aid from the United States for their civilian needs. The administration, Congressman Charles Wilson said, can of course try to get the Stingers back, but it is doubtful that it will succeed in doing this. Frank Carlucci, who held the post of defense secretary under the previous administration, reckons that the United States "will never get the missiles back, ever."

The problem is indeed serious. There is much evidence that the Stingers have fallen into the hands of people whom the Americans regard as their enemies.

'Neoglobalism' in Bush Administration Criticized

PM1603103989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": " 'Neoglobalism' Has No Future"]

[Excerpts] It follows from newspaper reports that the U.S. Administration is continuing its in-depth foreign policy analysis. One of the main questions still to be resolved during this analysis is how to deal with the legacy of the "Reagan era" not in words, but deeds. Judging by everything, there is no unanimity here.

In the package of ideas and approaches bequeathed by the last administration, there are many that deserve further development. These are the switch to limiting nuclear arsenals, and realization of the necessity of all-European security. Incidentally, here the Bush Administration, evidently, has already defined its position to some extent. The meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, which has just taken place in Vienna, testifies to this—a meeting that confirmed the continuity of approaches to these problems.

But the new administration has also inherited a legacy that many temperate politicians believe should be discarded—and the sooner, the better—for example, the existing political concept of relations with the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. [passage omitted]

Grenada was trampled in the name of "combating communism." There was no hesitation in deceiving Congress for the sake of providing weapons to the contra formations. In general, the former administration's activity may be compared with those "Boy Scouts" who, wishing to earn credit, escorted an old lady across the street in threes. When asked why three were needed for this, they answered: "She put up a lot of resistance."

By all accounts, there are forces in the Bush Administration that would like to confirm Washington in its claim to the role of "worldwide Messiah." Recently Vice President D. Quayle expressed himself precisely in this spirit at the annual conference of U.S. conservative organizations. With both feet firmly planted in the soil of "neoglobalism," he talked about the worldwide contest between the USSR and the United States on ways to achieve "victory" in it.

He cited Afghanistan as an example, or rather the fact of the Soviet troops' withdrawal. Well now, our country acted on the basis of the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements. The approach of the United States, which undertook to be a guarantor in the fulfillment of these agreements, and thus was a country that ought to have prevented interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, is another matter. Instead of preventing interference, the United States, as Quayle stressed triumphantly, continues to deliver arms to the opposition. Moreover, the vice president went so far as to demand the "removal of the Kabul government!" At the same time, the press reports, the financing both of the contras and the Khmer opposition groupings continues.

As we see, the Boy Scout approach to the complex processes of the modern world is still in force on the other side of the ocean. And the matter, unfortunately, is not confined only to speeches by individual representatives of the administration. We are talking about a purposeful political line. So, recently a project to give aid to foreign states, prepared by the State Department and the Pentagon, reached Congress. And it is indicated quite unambiguously in this report that this aid must ensure first, no, not the successful development of the countries at the receiving end, not an increase in their population's well-being, not an increase in human rights, but "the achievement of long-term targets" in U.S. foreign and military policy.

And here one cannot fail to notice that the budget proposals, which determine to a significant degree U.S. policy on many basic questions, are now being put forward even before the foreign policy aims and ways to achieve them have been formulated as a whole. This is taking place at the same time as the formulation of the military budget, which is literally "dragging" the United States into a new stage of implementing a confrontational strategy in precisely the same way the project for giving aid to foreign states is unambiguously aimed at continuing the strategy of "neoglobalism."

Where can this lead? Hints, albeit very faint ones, of the possibility of a settlement in the Near East, have just emerged. According to the draft budget for fiscal-1990, Israel, which heads the list of those receiving U.S. aid, will receive $1.8 billion for purely military purposes. But let us think what role, from the political standpoint, the new squadrons of F-15 and F-16 fighter planes, new naval ships, and tanks can play. It is quite clear that they will have a provocative effect. These mountains of weapons can only reinforce the existing ideas the Israeli leaders have: that they have enough power to impose by force their own terms for "a peaceful settlement" on the Palestinians and other peoples of the Arab states. U.S. military aid is making it more difficult to resolve the regional conflict.

This applies to an even greater extent to military-economic aid to Pakistan (almost $500 million) and to a number of Central American states (another $500 million). Washington cannot fail to realize that in this instance modern arms are essentially the fuel that feeds the fire of the undeclared wars.

The programs of U.S. aid to the Philippines deserve special attention. As is known, this country's leadership has stated that there is no external threat to its security. And at the same time it has repeatedly expressed doubt about the need to keep the U.S. bases. And yet Washington is increasing military deliveries with one sole aim—to preserve the Subic Bay Naval Base and the Clark Field Air Force Base.

Recently, under the influence of the general warming of the international situation, new opportunities have been opened up to settle the military conflicts: in Central America, Southeast Asia, and southern Africa. Of course, a great deal still remains to be done. At the same time, today it is necessary to think about those basic principles that would prevent these and other conflicts from flaring up once again, for, as we can see, there are forces in the new U.S. Administration for which "neoglobalism" has not lost its attractiveness.

The only reasonable way out of the confrontational whirlpool into which Washington could draw the world is recognition—not just verbal recognition, but through real deeds—of the universality of the principle of freedom of choice. Every people has the right to resolve its own problems independently, without any interference from outside. And to deny this right, under whatever pretext this is done and in whatever words it is concealed, encroaches on that delicate balance that has been achieved in the modern world.

Bush E. Asia Visit, Importance of Region Viewed

OW1603093189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Interview with (Aleksandra Puryaskiy), NOVOYE VREMYA political observer, by unidentified station reporter; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] Bush, the 41st President of the United States, ended his 5-day visit to Japan, China, and South Korea early this week. While the press and radio and TV stations of a number of countries in the region are still commenting on the visit, we invite (Aleksandra Puryaskiy), noted political observer of the Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, to sum up the visit. His recorded interview with our station reporter follows:

[Reporter] According to conventional practice, U.S. presidents before Bush invariably made West European countries their first stop when they traveled abroad. Why did Bush begin his first foreign visit with countries in the Asia-Pacific region? Has the United States shifted the focus of its foreign policy?

[(Puryaskiy)] I think there are at least three reasons for what Bush did. First, it is related to the tragedy of Japanese Emperor Hirohito passing away. The tragedy has become the reason and cause of the visit to Japan by the President of the United States. Now that he has arrived in Japan, it follows as a matter of course that the visit will be prolonged and the courtesy call expanded. The second reason, possibly the major reason, is that the region is enjoying a rapidly flourishing development at present. Its political significance is increasing dramatically. As a matter of fact, at the moment I am of the opinion that it may be necessary to realign the priority of importance between the Asia-Pacific region and West Europe. Recently some politicians have frequently made the comparison.

However, there is still a third reason. I have the feeling that President Bush does not plan to visit West Europe right now because it would be a difficult visit for him. President Bush and his administration have declared that they are still in a process of studying and reconsidering a number of political issues and are just beginning to define their own policies. Of course, these issues, first of all, involve East-West relations, arms reduction, talks with the Soviet Union, and so forth. It would appear odd, at least, if Bush were to visit West Europe without having his own views and stand on these issues. It seems that Bush will visit Europe only after a careful reconsideration of these issues.

[Reporter] What can you say about the results of Bush's visit to the three countries in the Asia-Pacific region? Do you see any change in U.S. strategy toward the region from this visit?

[(Puryaskiy)] I think it is still premature to say that the United States has made any new change or has substantially shifted the focus of its strategy and line toward the region. I feel President Bush is very prudent and cautious in dealing with international affairs. I should point out that a certain new aspect of delicacy is shown in the visit. Particulary, this was obvious in the talks between President Bush and Chinese leaders. In the past, Sino-U.S. relations were established on the basis of the so-called Soviet-Sino-U.S. macro triangle. Every angle in the triangle, it would seem, was used to deal with the other two angles. Playing various kinds of cards used to be such a fad not long ago—for example, playing the China card against the Soviet Union, and so forth.

Marked changes in the relationships within the triangle are observable now. This phenomenon is clearly brought to light in Bush's visit to Beijing. What Bush said to Deng Xiaoping about the Soviet Union and Soviet leader Gorbachev's forthcoming visit shows goodwill and is very constructive. This also shows that confrontation in the relations between the three major big countries of the world is on the wane and that constructive factors are on the rise. Indeed, why should the normalization of Soviet-Sino-U.S. relations make the Americans feel uneasy? Or, why should the constructive development of Sino-U.S. relations make the Soviets feel uneasy? The answers to these questions lie in the fact that this should not be so.

However, I wish to add that every change in Soviet-Sino-U.S. relations is a result of the profound changes taking place in the international arena. Those profound changes are being brought about, first, by historical reinterpretation of a number of political affairs, generally acknowledged truths, and major issues. Such historical reinterpretation is being conducted all over the world at present. I think, to a considerable extent, that it has a great deal to do with the new political thinking announced in the Soviet Union.

[Reporter] Indeed, new political thinking is opening up a new course for itself in the Asia-Pacific region and in all the world. Under the circumstances, however, Bush announced during his visit to South Korea that the United States plans to maintain its military presence in South Korea. How should we treat this announcement? Indeed, it is a manifestation of the old thinking, not the new thinking.

[(Puryaskiy)] What is there to say about this? If we were to hear any announcement to the contrary, it would be theatrical lines, high-sounding theatrical lines. I think it is, at least, unrealistic to expect the United States to make such a change in its policy toward the Korean peninsula now. I believe the time for such change to take place has not yet come.

Nevertheless, changes may very likely take place here. Not long ago we heard new and even sensational information: namely, that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is setting up an economic joint venture with South Korea. I feel that a gradual thawing of the estrangement between the north and south in Korea is taking place today. South Korea is also establishing relations with other socialist countries step-by-step. Here, rapid progress has been made. No historical change will happen within [words indistinct] days. In order to bring about a fundamental change in the situation on the Korean peninsula, it will take time, patience, and the desire of North and South Korea—the desire, that is, to push forward the dialogue already started between the two sides for a political settlement of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

CPSU's Yefimov Meets U.S. Schoolchildren

LD1603033289 Moscow TASS in English 0008 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—"Today's meeting has a very important aim: to know each other better and to remove obstacles for new contacts. We want to have more active relations so that you should understand us better and know our present-day aspirations," said Nikolay Yefimov, deputy head of the ideological department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. With these words he greeted a group of American schoolchildren visiting the Soviet Union under an agreement between the USSR State Committee for Public Education and a U.S. organisation for educational exchanges of schoolchildren.

"It seems unbelievable," Yefimov went on to say, "but I could not find a single book by a Russian or Soviet author in a library of a U.S. college that trains 4,000 future teachers."

The meeting at the CPSU Central Committee on Wednesday was not an ordinary protocol event. American teenagers went there to get answers to questions which agitate them. Confusing English and Russian words from agitation, [as received] they asked about Leo Tolstoy and Stalin, Moscow buses and the further development of Soviet society, about foreign debts of developing countries and access to archives. Though some questions were naive, they were prompted by a sincere desire to learn.

Sixteen-year-old American Josiah Rowe said that the Soviet Union was unfolding before the very eyes of the American scholchildren. He added that they can see now much of what they were interested in. He made special mention of the similarity between Americans and Soviet people with respect to openness. "In general," the American teenager said, "the two countries are very similar, they are much more closer to each other than many believe."

China

Soviet, PRC Officials Hold Talks in Moscow 6-13 Mar

LD1603134989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—Soviet-Chinese consultations on a number of topical international problems were held here 9-16 March. They were conducted by Lev Mendeleyevich, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium and head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Evaluation and Planning Administration, and Xia Daosheng, head of the PRC Foreign Ministry Policy Research Office.

The Chinese representative was received by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister. Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

PRC Official on CPSU Ties, Upcoming Summit

PM1603112189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Summit Meeting: China's Viewpoint"]

[Text] Beijing—"Does the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit meeting mean the normalization of relations between the two parties—the CPC and the CPSU?" Replying to this question at a news briefing, Wu Xingtang, spokesman for the CPC Central Committee International Relations Department, declared: The Sino-Soviet summit meeting marks the beginning of the normalization of PRC-USSR relations. The purpose of the summit meeting is to normalize interstate relations of a new type based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. There will be no going back to the former relations as allies of the fifties.

"During the visit," Wu Xingtang continued, "M.S. Gorbachev will meet with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Naturally, this fact will also signify the normalization of relations between the CPC and the CPSU, but future relations between the parties will never return to those that existed in the fifties." Developing this thought, he added that the CPC has official relations with 260 parties: communist, socialist, and others friendly to China. They are built on the principles of independence, full equality, mutual advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs. The CPC Central Committee International Relations Department spokesman recalled that CPC-CPSU relations were suspended in the sixties.

USSR To Take 'Extensive' Part in PRC Firms

LD1603141989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] The Soviet Union will take an extensive part in reconstructing Chinese enterprises on the basis of a major credit agreement. The talks on this agreement are drawing to a close. This was announced by (Chang Lunkang), head of the Foreign Relations Department of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. Our Beijing correspondent Albert Papayan reports.

[Begin Papayan recording] The money will be used for reconstructing and modernizing the metallurgy combine built in the 1950's with Soviet assistance in Baotou, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. (Chang Lunkang) also said Soviet technology and equipment for improving steel foundries and processes for manufacturing seamless pipes and rails would be purchased. There have been an especially large number of similar reports recently. Thus, the JINGJI RIBAO economic newspaper writes that the building of a joint Soviet-Chinese enterprise for paper pulp production with a capacity of 250,000 tonnes a year is planned for (?Heilongjiang Province). This will be the largest mixed enterprise in China. Meanwhile, both sides are now studying possibilities for setting up other joint ventures.

The newspaper writes that both China and the Soviet Union are making great efforts aimed at improving political and economic relations. It is very important that our ancient Silk Road should be extended this year to the vast Soviet and East European markets, Zeng Xianlin, minister of PRC light industry, said the other day. She stressed that good prospects for selling Chinese light industry products to those countries are opening for China. Satisfaction with the consistent development of Soviet-Chinese relations is being expressed here. Links and contacts have been taking shape in practically all spheres of interstate relations. [end recording]

1989 Soviet-PRC Trade Protocol Described

OW1603064389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Dmitriyev report from "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] The 1989 Soviet-Chinese Barter and Payment Protocol has been signed in Moscow. Here is station reporter Dmitriyev's report:

The foundation of the steady development of Soviet-Chinese trade for mutual benefit was laid in 1986 when the governments of the two countries signed a 5-year bilateral trade agreement that will expire in 1990. According to the agreement, trade volume during the 5-year period will reach 12 billion rubles. The agreement also specifies the major kinds of commodities our two countries will supply one another. The USSR supplies China with motor vehicles, airplanes, machine tools, generating units, internal combustion locomotives, railway cars, and so forth. Machinery and means of transportation represent over 50 percent of Soviet exports to China. During its modernization drive, China has been making positive efforts to utilize Soviet technology.

Our country also supplies China with important raw materials, such as petroleum products, rolled steel, nonferrous metals, steel pipes, and so forth. Under the circumstances in which China has shortages of construction materials for its large-scale construction, the Soviet Union supplies China with cement, glass, and timber. This has helped China solve part of its problems. The Soviet Union's manufactured goods, such as refrigerators, cameras, electrical appliances, and so forth, are popular among Chinese people. In addition to technogical goods, we also supply fertilizer to China.

China supplies us very important raw materials, certain metals, and various types of mineral ores essential for national economic development. Consumer goods—such as fabrics, knitwears, clothing, furs, down-padded coats, quilts, towels, thermos bottles, and ceramic goods—constitute a large percentage of the commodities our country imports from China. The demand of such goods is great among the Soviet people. We also purchase certain agricultural goods from China. Recently, we have also started purchasing electronic goods and (wooden furniture) from China. In short, Soviet-Chinese trade is built on the basis of reciprocity in accordance with the principle of supplementing each other's needs through imports and exports.

Although the categories of goods in the two countries' trade change very little under the 1989 protocol, the trade volume will top that of 1988 by 17.8 percent and will reach 2 billion rubles. According to Osadchuk, the Soviet representative who signed the 1989 barter protocol and Soviet vice minister of foreign economic relations, the protocol reflects the thriving development of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations. He said: Under the situation where the two countries are proceeding with economic reform, we have embarked on promoting cooperation in all fields and will continue to seek new ways of reciprocity. We have also started to plan Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations for the next 5 years—the period from 1991 to 1995.

The Chinese representative who signed the protocol was Wang Pinqing, vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade. In his speech he stressed:

[Begin Wang Pinqing recording] Today we have signed the 1989 barter protocol. This protocol shows the development of Sino-Soviet economic relations and trade. In terms of money, the amount of trade under the protocol just signed is 17.8 percent higher than that of last year. This is a substantial increase which is not easy to come by. I can tell my friends here that the contracts under last year's protocol have by and large been carried out satisfactorily. I believe that the contracts under the protocol that has been signed will also be carried out satisfactorily. We are glad to see the rapid development of Sino-Soviet economic and technical cooperation and trade relations. In the area of trade, there will be governmental trade, local trade, and border trade. Soviet-Chinese coooperation will be carried out in areas concerning labor service and government loans and commercial loans from the Soviet Government. I believe that following Gorbachev's visit to China the two countries' economic relations and trade will continue to develop steadily. [end recording]

Soviet Trade Officials Visit Heilongjiang Fair

OW1603064189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] An exhibition of Chinese building materials to be supplied to the Soviet Union has opened for the first time in Heilongjiang's Jiamusi City. Representatives of 23 Soviet organizations have visited the exhibition for trade talks. Some 1,000 products, including construction machinery and materials, are on display at the exhibition.

The exhibition was sponsored by the China Construction Machinery and Materials Corporation, which plans to hold similar exhibitions in other Chinese trade centers bordering the Soviet Union.

Expanding Soviet-Chinese Relations Viewed

OW1503132389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program]

[Text] Soviet leader Gorbachev's official visit to Beijing is only 2 months away. In China, people often speak of continuing to expand exchanges and contacts between the two nations and the two peoples. Development of relations between the two nations has been continuing over the years. Our station reporter in Beijing, Papoyang, [name as heard] has the following report:

[Begin Papoyang recording] Not a day passes without some new signals of developing Soviet-Chinese relations. For example, the two nations opened a regular highway route a few days ago for the first time. Now tourists and businessmen of the two nations can travel between the two nations by the highway from Panfilov to Yining City. Some 40 experts from China have begun building a thermoelectric station in [word indistinct] city in the Soviet Union. Shanghai's SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO [WORLD ECONOMIC HERALD] has noted that expansion in border trade and direct contacts among various regions and departments is a characteristic of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. The volume of border trade last year alone topped 600 million Swiss francs. The paper emphasized: Border trade is a mutually beneficial supplement to the economies along the border areas of the two nations.

The two nations have made a start in establishing joint enterprises. The Soviet Union has great potential for joint scientific-technological research. The agreement on cooperation signed last month in Beijing between the USSR and PRC Academies of Sciences will help tap this potential. The sides agreed on the principles governing cooperation between the two academies up to the year 2000.

Contacts in the field of education are also expanding. This year Soviet institutes of higher learning will receive some 600 Chinese students while 320 Soviet trainees and student will study at Chinese higher educational establishments.

It goes without saying that the recent visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to China represents a very significant event in Soviet-Chinese cooperation and relations. It was during this visit that the date for Gorbachev to visit China was decided, that is, 15-18 May. News media here believe that the upcoming summit will not only lead to the normalization of relations between the two nations, but will also contribute to the sound development of the international situation as a whole. [end recording]

Thai Premier, PRC Leaders Discuss Cambodia

BK1603085989 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Station commentator (Karyatin) commentary]

[Text] Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan is paying an official visit to China. In his talks with Chinese leaders on a number of issues of great import, the Cambodian problem was also discussed. Our commentator, Comrade (Karyatin), has the following comments:

The process in the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem has been in progress in spite of some remaining unresolved issues. This, once again, is evident with the trip to China of the Thai leader.

The reality has shown the unsuitable components of the plan to solve the Cambodian problem by military means in the interest of the Cambodian resistance. The new state authorities in Cambodia have scored successes in restoring the country, building the army which controls every part of the country's territory, including the areas from which Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn. Moreover, although the resistance, which has safe haven in the Thai territory, will receive huge external aid, the so-called coalition government has from time to time been split. Due to their different policies, they have not yet presented any plan leading toward ending the war in which they kill their own populace.

At present, the Jakarta informal meeting has begun to produce some positive, though not exhibitive effects. The two informal meetings were attended by all the Cambodian parties, Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries. The first meeting held in July 1988 acknowledged that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and prevention of the recurrence of the Pol Pot regime are the vital elements of a settlement. The second meeting achieved another important element that provides for the necessity of linking the Vietnamese military withdrawal to the cessation of aid to the warring parties in Cambodia. In other words, this means that the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and prevention of recurrence of the Pol Pot regime, as well as the cutting off of military aid, must be taken into account in the process of formulating a solution. Constructive gestures from Thailand and China, in my opinion, can play a significant role. However, we cannot ignore the positive meeting held between Chatchai Chunhawan and Comrade Hun Sen. According to the Thai prime minister's advisers, a psychological direction has been found in the their relations.

Bangkok and Beijing have reaffirmed that a solution to the Cambodian problem can remove the source of tension and clean up the political mess in Southeast Asia. As the search for a solution is not an easy task, those who want to see the Cambodian people live in peace have been very pleased with the news that the new meeting has created more common views.

Zhao Ziyang Said Willing To Slow PRC Growth

PM1603160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "To Solve Problems"]

[Text] Beijing, 15 Mar—We are prepared to spend 2 years or even more in resolving two problems—streamlining the economic structure and preventing a recurrence of the disturbances that followed the revival in the economic sphere—at the cost of reducing economic growth rates. Zhao Zhiyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said this during a meeting with Ho Tam, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Korean Worker's Party Central Committee, here.

Speaking about the reform being implemented within the country, the leader of the CPC pointed out, inter alia, that in the last 10 years China has achieved significant results in the economy, culture, and other spheres of public life. At the same time he noted the inflationary processes within the country. As a result of the measures taken after the 13th Session of the 3d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, it has proven possible to stabilize prices and reduce expenditures somewhat. By and large, the situation within the country is good.

Riots Seen 'Retarding' Tibet's Development

PM1503152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Situation in Tibet"]

[Text] Beijing—Wan Li, chairman of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee, has stated that the recent riots in Tibet were provoked by a group of separatists and posed a serious danger to social stability, and that is why it was absolutely necessary for the PRC State Council to proclaim martial law in Lhasa in strict accordance with the country's Constitution.

A RENMIN RIBAO commentator, describing the Tibetan separatists' actions, noted: "China is now concentrating its efforts on improving the economic situation, and these efforts can only be successful if the social and political climate is stable." "There are stable and unstable factors in every society," the commentator noted, "and when the latter prevail, steps must be taken to protect the favorable situation in the country."

A group of well-known Tibetan scholars recently recalled that Tibet has been an indissoluble part of China since the 13th century. People acting under the slogan "Independence for Tibet!" have disregarded this historical fact and, moreover, conducted scandalous actions: they have committed arson and robbery and have massacred people. In the scholars' opinion, these actions were contrary to the people's wishes and were in breach of the law. Tibet lags economically and culturally behind other parts of our country, the scholars believe, and a great deal must be done for it to progress, but the separatists' actions are only blocking and retarding Tibetans' development.

XINHUA reports from Lhasa that the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region published several new rulings at the end of last week detailing the enforcement of martial law in the city; in particular, people who planned the riots, instigated them, were also involved in the violence, or who harbored the rebels or stolen property were ordered to give themselves up. It is reported that groups of people who participated in the illegal demonstrations and looting have given themselves up to the militia. They have been promised leniency in accordance with the policy of "leniency for those who plead guilty and strict punishment for those who offer resistance." Another ruling has determined the regulations governing police and soldiers' actions and their strict observance of the regulations concerning the use of weapons.

Northeast Asia

USSR To Withdraw Tank, Air Divisions in MPR

LD1503174689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (TASS)—On the basis of an accord between the governments of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic, three full strength divisions, including two tank divisions, and two aircraft divisions, and a number of individual units will be withdrawn from Mongolia to the Soviet Union in 1989-90. Of these divisions, one tank division and several individual units, including aircraft unis, will be withdrawn in May-August 1989.

DPRK Forces in State of 'Combat Readiness'

PM1503153789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In Combat Readiness"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 11 Mar—The supreme commander-in-chief of the Korean People's Army has ordered all KPA units, security forces, the worker-peasant militia, and the young guard to be placed in combat readiness, says a report by the KPA High Command carried by KCNA. The forces are instructed to maintain "heightened revolutionary vigilance."

This "self-defense measure," as it is pointed out, has been taken in connection with the fact that the joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit-89" military maneuvers will soon be entering the "offensive operations" phase. More than 200,000 U.S. and South Korean servicemen and a large quantity of armaments, including nuclear arms, have been involved in the exercises.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Kamentsev Receives Philippine Trade Minister

PM1503172189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation"]

[Text] On 13 March V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received J. Concepcion, Philippine secretary of trade and industry.

There was a discussion of the state of and prospects for the development of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the Philippines.

K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and A. Melchor, Philippine ambassador to the USSR, participated in the conversation.

Vietnamese Agitprop Chief Visits USSR

PM1503171789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Links"]

[Text] In line with the schedule for interparty links, a delegation of Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) workers, headed by Tran Trong Tanh, member of the CPV Central Committee and chief of the CPV Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department, was familiarized with the implementation of the political reform in the USSR and the CPSU's practice of ideological work in restructuring conditions.

The Vietnamese comrades had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee ideological and international departments, at the Moscow and Vladimir obkoms, and in ideological institutions and production collectives.

Near East & South Asia

USSR Statement on Afghanistan Circulated at UN

LD1603030489 Moscow TASS in English 0014 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 15 TASS—The Soviet Government statement of March 11 was circulated in the United Nations on Wednesday as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The statement points out that, in violation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the scale of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs has been on the increase after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country.

The Soviet Government firmly emphasises, the statement says, that all responsibility for possible dire consequences of continued warfare in Afghanistan will rest with those whose shortsighted and non-realistic policies are promoting discord in Afghanistan and serving expansionist aims with regard to the neighbouring country.

Afghan Envoy Sees Victory Over Jalalabad Rebels

PM1503165089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] A new meeting with S.M. Gulabzoy, Afghan ambassador to the USSR, was organized for Soviet and foreign journalists at their request at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on 14 March. He described the situation in his country.

The ambassador drew attention to the fact that after the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan the irreconcilable opposition changed its tactics. Realizing that predictions on the speedy fall of the legitimate regime had not come true, it began an economic blockade of the major cities, blocking roads, attacking freight caravans, and shelling the peaceful urban population with rockets. However, government troops are offering successful resistance to the opposition forces. The main highways are functioning and Kabul Airport is accepting planes.

The ambassador dwelt particularly on the fighting for Jalalabad—the center of Nangarhar Province. He reported that this city was earmarked by the opposition and the U.S. and Pakistani special services as the site for the "provisional government" of Afghanistan that was set up in Pakistan, which intended to hold sway in Nangarhar and await international recognition. That is why the fighting was so fierce there. It is well known that the oppositionists sustained a total defeat. The bodies of military advisers from the United States and Saudi Arabia were found among the many dead. Reports are coming in that the defeat considerably lowered morale in the opposition ranks. On the other hand, repressions have been stepped up against people evincing a desire to cooperate with the legitimate government. The ambassador named several commanders of detachments who have been killed by the opposition on the instructions of the Pakistani special services.

S.M. Gulabzoy stressed that the Afghan Armed Forces are capable of reliably defending the legitimate regime and every square meter of the country's territory. He recalled that the republic advocates a peaceful settlement to the situation.

A briefing on current questions of international politics was then held for journalists.

Rebel Attack on Jalalabad Being Pushed Back

LD1603031389 Moscow TASS in English 0016 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondents Andrey Greshnov and Yuriy Tyssovskiy: Positive tendencies become visible day after day in the military-political situation around Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province, Muhammad Nabi Amani, head of Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry press centre, said at a briefing for local and foreign newsmen on Wednesday.

Units of the opposition diehards and their Pakistani patrons are being pressed farther and farther from the city as a result of operations by government troops, and sustain heavy losses. Five hundred and sixty mujahidin were killed and 252 injured in the past 24 hours. Four American and one Saudi advisers died in the fighting, according to prisoners' accounts.

Two columns of trucks—one carrying weapons and ammunition and the other—reinforcements—were destroyed. A total of 23 trucks were decimated. In addition to this, government troops demolished three field guns, four rocket launchers, four mortars, two ammunition depots, and two command posts. They took prisoner several groups of rebels and of Pakistani territorial units (malishas) backing them. Detachments of opposition diehards were finally dislodged from such key defensive posts near Jalalabad as Samarkheil, Behsud, and Shaparhar.

At the same time, opposition groups carry on massive bombardments of the province's administrative centre. About 5,000 rockets, shells and mines hit the city in the past 24 hours, killing three soldiers of the peoples militia, 12 civilians, injuring 30 people and causing heavy damage to the housing stock.

A meeting of elders of tribes and religious leaders of Nangarhar was held in Jalalabad. They denounced the continuation of the war and the actions of those forces, including the Pakistani military, which favour bloodshed.

About 200 Western journalists occupied the Continental Hotel in the expectation of the fall of Jalalabad, according to reports coming in from Peshawar. Pakistani secret services led by General G. Hamid "feed" them with false information about military operations in Nangarhar, which then turns up on the pages of leading bourgeois publications.

Responding to a question put by a TASS correspondent, Amani stressed that the Afghan side gives truthful information about the situation in the province whereas the coverage of developments there in the Western press is based on fabrications which are of an openly provocative nature and distort the truth.

According to reports monitored here, youths and children in Afghan refugee camps on Pakistani territory are forcibly drafted into rebel groups to be sent to the Afghan province of Nangarhar to support the rebel offensive on Jalalabad.

New U.S. Missiles Used in Jalalabad Fighting

LD1603034289 Moscow TASS in English 0003 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 15 TASS—Government troops attacked groups of the Afghan irreconcilable opposition in Tor-Kotal District, [place name as received] Qandahar Province, and in Pol-e Khomri District, Baghlan Province, killing 13 and wounding around 20 rebels. The rebels also sustained heavy losses in Injil District, [place name as received] Herat Province.

Afghan security forces captured a large cache of ammunition of the anti-government organisation Islamic Society of Afghanistan in Shakar Darreh District, Kabul Province, the news agency BAKHTAR reported. The cache included 40 kilograms of explosives, chemical fuses, timing devices and rockets.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent six protest notes to UN observers in Kabul, citing violations by Pakistan of the Geneva accords. The documents stress that flouting the generally recognised norms of international law, the Pakistani military engages in acts of direct armed aggression against their neighbouring state.

Protests were reported in the Afghan refugee camps Menda and Matta near Peshawar, Pakistan, against Pakistan's interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The protesters demanded an immediate end to the armed invasion of the eastern Afghan province of Nangarhar by Pakistani mercenaries. Afghan rebels, moved against the protestors, failed to subdue the protesters and appealed for help from units of the Pakistani Army. Both camps are currently cordoned off by tanks and combat vehicles.

General Manuk Mangal, commander of Jalalabad garrison, said in an interview with Kabul television that 250 Pakistani, 200 American and Arab advisors were taking part in hostilities around the city. He also stressed that the rebels were supported by heavy artillery of the Pakistan Armed Forces.

New Delhi March 15 TASS—Afghan opposition used new U.S.-made guided missiles, with a range of 80 kilometers, in the fighting around Jalalabad, according to the Indian news agency PTI.

Jalalabad, Kabul Situation Reported 15 Mar

PM1603102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Roundup by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and V. Shevchenko in Kuwait: "Jalalabad: After 8 Days' Assault"]

[Excerpts] REUTER reports that Afghan forces have repulsed a major attack by the mujahidin on Jalalabad, but the city continues to be subjected to massive artillery and rocket fire.

As N. Amani, head of the Afghan Foreign Ministry press center, indicated at a press conference in Kabul, in the last 24 hours the city's defenders have not only held firmly to their positions, but in a number of places drove the rebels even further back from the city. Among the mujahidin and the Pakistani soldiers supporting them, losses amounted to 276 dead and 215 wounded.

According to information reaching Kabul, there is increasing dissatisfaction behind enemy lines with the actions of Pakistani servicemen who are burning the bodies of rebels who have been killed. As reported by refugees arriving in the Afghan capital, and also prisoners brought here, Pakistani officers and some opposition detachment commanders have ordered the shooting of the wounded who cannot be evacuated. These actions have aroused the rebels' indignation. [passage omitted]

TASS reports that in the last 24 hours 5 peaceful inhabitants of Jalalabad were killed as a result of the shelling, and 15 people were wounded.

In yesterday's issue of IZVESTIYA, we published a dispatch by our New York correspondent "How Are We To Get the Stingers Back?" which reported the U.S. Administration's concern that it has not been able to retrieve the Stinger rockets delivered to the Afghan mujahidin. We recall that the United States is concerned primarily that the rockets may fall into terrorist hands and be used against U.S. facilities. Today REUTER reports that, according to a statement by a spokesman of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (Y. Khalis' faction), the mujahidin do not intend to return the Stingers. "We will not be returning the Stingers, we have more need of them," the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" spokesman stated.

Late news: The situation in the Afghan capital remains stable, news agencies report. UPI reports that 437 trucks carrying rice, vegetable oil, and wheat for the city's population have arrived in Kabul in the past 24 hours.

Citing a military source, BAKHTAR has reported bloody clashes in Herat Province in the last few days between armed detachments of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan." It is reported that during the fighting both sides lost hundreds of men killed and wounded.

Pakistan Said Coordinating Jalalabad Offensive

LD1603120589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] According to reports coming from Afghanistan, the offensive against the town of Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province, is being coordinated by high-ranking Pakistani military intelligence officers. As has become known, one of them, (Magbub Shah), has been ordered to use any measures to raise the morale of the rebels, and to launch a new offensive against Jalalabad. Rumours are growing that Afghan combat planes are being flown by foreign pilots. [sentence as heard]

Pakistani 'Aggression' in Afghanistan Decried

PM1503125189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service roundup under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: Interference Developing Into Aggression"]

[Text] Government troops are keeping a firm hold on Jalalabad and the most important facilities around it. Oppositionists who attacked the city have been pushed back to a relatively safe distance. This was said by an Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman speaking in Kabul.

Journalists' attention has been drawn to Pakistan's growing interference, which has, in effect, become outright aggression. On Saturday morning two Pakistani Air Force helicopters landed a large group of military instructors and opposition unit commanders in the area of Ghaziabad (Nangarhar Province). Not only the militia—tribal militiamen—but also soldiers in the regular Pakistani Army, who were given constant reinforcements, fought on the oppositionists' side around Jalalabad. Deployed in the rear of the attacking units, it was pointed out at the press conference in Kabul, the Pakistani servicemen and militiamen are preventing the mujahidin from leaving for the Pakistani border and are also preventing the bodies of the dead from being taken away to Pakistani territory. This is being done to avoid disturbances in refugee camps and hide the true scale of the losses in this disastrous action. According to eyewitness reports, the bodies of dead rebels have been covered with gasoline and incinerated in ditches and trenches.

The two combatant sides' reports of mujahidin losses in the 6-day offensive against Jalalabad are strikingly different. According to government data, the mujahidin lost more than 3,100 fighters in this time, and approximately 30 militiamen were killed along with 4 Saudi and 2 U.S. military instructors. According to UPI data from Peshawar, the rebels admit to having lost only 7 dead and 5 wounded.

At the same time, UPI indicates that a Red Cross hospital in Peshawar is overflowing with seriously wounded men and another is admitting more than 20 a day.

UPI also reports that the rebels have captured "approximately 400 Afghan servicemen from Samarkheil Garrison" (10 km from Jalalabad). The agency indicates here that a truck carrying captured soldiers to Pakistan was attacked by a rival rebel group that wanted to "appropriate" the prisoners. As a result of this barbarous act, 17 men were killed.

REUTER acknowledges that reports from various opposition parties on the course of the fighting in Jalalabad have been extremely contradictory. A Foreign Ministry spokesman in Kabul has attributed this to the fact that the Pakistani authorities have absolutely refused to reveal the scale of their interference, which has become overt aggression, and have also endeavored to hide the extent of the rebel losses. That is why journalists, who were previously free to accompany mujahidin detachments on their operations on Afghan soil, have not been allowed into the Jalalabad region.

The armed opposition is trying to compensate for its military failures with a diplomatic offensive. Iraq's INA reported on a meeting in Baghdad between T.Y. Ramadan, Iraq's deputy prime minister, and G. Hikmatyar, leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," who is touring a number of Near and Middle Eastern countries. The Iraqi deputy prime minister, the agency pointed out, indicated his country's interest in resolving Afghanistan's problems "through dialogue and by peaceful means, thus avoiding further casualties and also material losses."

The discussion of the Afghan question is the center of attention at the Islamic Conference Organization foreign ministers' meeting that opened 13 March in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia). "Saudi Arabia wants the conference to formally recognize the mujahidin 'transitional government,' but if most countries do not meet it halfway, it will hardly insist on this demand," REUTER indicated from Riyadh.

As is well known, Saudi Arabia was the first to recognize the opposition government set up with the direct participation of the Pakistani intelligence services in Rawalpindi. It was followed by Sudan, which also officially recognized the "transitional government" and expressed a desire to exchange diplomatic missions with it.

Stop the presses: REUTER correspondent Hugh Payne reports that three An-12 transporters carrying 20 tonnes of food aid to the population of the Afghan capital have arrived in Kabul. Another 20 aircraft are expected to arrive from Tashkent in the next few days.

There is now enough food in Kabul, the leader of the joint Afghan-Soviet AFSOTR [expansion unknown] told the REUTER correspondent, pointing out that food products are being shipped here not only via the airlift but also along the Hayratan-Kabul Highway. At the same time, he stated, approximately 560 vehicles have been pillaged by the rebels over a stretch of 450km and 70 have been set on fire in the past month.

Pakistan Lawmaker Fears Spillover of Afghan War

PM1603113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA "Press Service" report: "Afghanistan: Opposition Changes Tactics"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Commenting on the situation in Afghanistan, S.M. Gulabzoy, Afghan ambassador to the USSR, pointed out at a meeting with journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center that the intransigent opposition has changed tactics. Persuaded that the predictions of the legitimate regime's imminent fall have not been realized, it has begun an economic blockade of the major cities, cutting roads, attacking freight convoys, and shooting at the peaceful urban population. On the other hand, reprisals against those who have shown a desire to cooperate with the government have been stepped up. The ambassador listed the names of several commanders of opposition detachments who have been killed on the orders of the Pakistani special services.

Islamabad's involvement in combat operations in Afghanistan on the side of the armed opposition is jeopardizing the security of Pakistan itself, Abdul Wali Khan, member of the Pakistani Parliament and chairman of the People's National Party, declared. In his opinion, the war in the neighboring country could easily spill over into Pakistan's western districts, where the main mujahidin forces are based.

Pakistan's interference also arouses alarm in Afghan refugee camps. According to reports reaching Kabul, there have been disturbances in the Menda and Matta refugee camps near Peshawar. Demonstrators have demanded an immediate end to the incursion of Pakistani militia detachments into east Afghanistan's Nangarhar Province. The groups of Afghan rebels sent in to break up the demonstrators proved powerless to stop the spontaneous demonstrations and were forced to ask for assistance from Pakistani Army subunits. Both camps are now blocked by Pakistani Army tanks and armored personnel carriers. [passage omitted]

Najibullah's 'Voice of Reason' Urges Negotiation

LD1503221289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 15 Mar 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Yuriy Isayev; Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Excerpts] The Afghanistan situation continues to be complex and tense. Afghan Army units have made a series of attacks on areas where formations of the irreconcilable opposition are based in the eastern province of Nangarhar. As has been announced in Kabul, government troops are firmly holding on to the administrative center of that province, the town of Jalalabad, and important facilities around it. At a press conference in the Afghan capital it was also reported that soldiers of the regular Pakistani Army are operating in the fighting around Jalalabad. According to Afghan Government data, the rebels have lost over 3,000 men during the offensive on Jalalabad. President Najibullah of Afghanistan has sent a message to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India in which he informed him of the dangerous development of events in Afghanistan. Now I will hand the mircophone to my colleague, commentator Aleksandr Malikov:

[Malikov] It must be said that in the last few weeks President Najibullah has appealed repeatedly to leaders of various countries, forewarning them that the events taking place inside Afghanistan are taking an extremely dangerous, and consequently a very undesirable, turn. We do not hear panic in the voice of the Afghan president. [passage omitted] A deeply thought-out warning of the possibility of a new chapter in the Afghan tragedy, which may start if the chance that exists now for restoring peace is not used, sounds in his voice. If now an honest inter-Afghan dialogue is established, which would, at last, build bridges of mutual understanding between the Afghan opposition and the government, the age-long issue of power will be solved at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield.

Unfortunately, as before, the opposition prefers to clear up relations with its fists. Its groupings are surrounding the largest towns and drawing in the rings of encirclement ever more tightly. But this is just the military side of the matter. It is impossible not to see another side, too. The fierce fighting for Jalalabad shows that in the final analysis these nooses are tightening around the necks of ordinary Afghans. It is not enough that they are killing each other. The hostile actions of the opposition, which one could generally foresee, are generating new waves of refugees, and instead of returning home, people are once again heading for the Pakistani border. It turns out that it was not only the presence of our troops which gave rise to this serious problem, over which there has been so much croaking and fuss in other tenderhearted capitals. And besides, everyone has now seen what form the violation of the Geneva agreements takes in practice. The following question seems natural: Why haven't either Pakistan or the second guarantor, the United States (?been taken seriously) even right up to now?

And I think that it is appropriate here to talk about the big lie, the great deception, or self-deception, if you like, that as always accompanies all manner of mistaken affairs. The great deception I'm thinking about is the notorious lie about the possibility of a military victory in the inter-Afghan conflict. The rebels have always been inspired by their patrons. The Soviet troops weren't something you could cope with, but the Afghans, they say, will become easy prey for you. And what do we see? All the large towns where the main military garrisons are located are standing like impregnable fortresses while the opposition are bloodying their noses but can't capture them. They can't capture them because there exists not an imaginary but a real correlation of forces and, as many serious observers now admit, it will not allow the rebels to gain the upper hand. So in essence they are driven only by the (?inertia) of the illusion of victory, which was sown in their minds by the Pakistani special services and the unending flow of U.S. weapons.

Incidentally, as far as the Americans are concerned, they seem to be pondering increasingly over the fact that deliveries of weapons can have a reverse effect. They are starting to understand that one fine day part of this weaponry may be used to fire on them. [passage omitted] As you see, only fear of a possible boomerang of violence has forced Washington to think seriously about exchanging Stingers for planting equipment and tractors. So if the United States was really concerned about the interests of the Afghans it would long ago have exchanged the military clause of its exports to the rebels for a civilian one, while Pakistan would open up its border points for peaceful freight and not for trucks carrying weapons. But this is, so to speak, wishful thinking. Meanwhile the United States and Pakistan continue to spread the great lie, urging the opposition into new rounds of confrontation that no one needs, and continue to engage in diplomacy that distances and does not bring nearer peace for the Afghans, and which consequently is not needed and is alien to them. In this situation, the voice of President Najibullah truly sounds like the voice of reason. War can no longer remain a way of life for the Afghans. Otherwise, one may in actual fact soon reach the stage of fighting to the last Afghan.

Afghan Rebels' Hikmatyar Seeking ICO Support

TA1503171089 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Rebel leaders based in Pakistan are continuing to assure their allies that their victory is near. Hikmatyar, one of the opposition leaders, in his statement in Riyadh during the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] foreign ministers meeting said that only a few weeks will be needed to topple the Kabul government. Hikmatyar is trying to gain assurances of support from the Islamic countries over recognition of the so-called Afghan transitional government. In recent days Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Bahrain have recognized this government, but the United States and Pakistan, the opposition's main backers, have avoided this step.

A number of Islamic states maintaining diplomatic relations with the Kabul government support the achievement of national reconciliation with the participation of all Afghan sides. Our commentator believes that ICO member states can lay the groundwork for a peaceful solution of the Afghan problem if they demonstrate a rational attitude.

ICO Leaders Urged Not To Recognize Afghan Rebels

LD1503121489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1430 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] The attention of world opinion is focusing on the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] foreign ministerial meeting in the Saudi capital. The meeting arouses Soviet citizens' great concern, because its agenda, in essence, gives the leaders of the Islamic world two choices: stability and tranquility in international relations, or the return to the law of the jungle.

Let us try to explain the latter aspect. It seems to us that the conference participants are confronted with the aforementioned choice when discussing how the Islamic world should react to the publication in the West of the book "The Satanic Verses" by British author Salman Rushdie, and how to resolve the problem of recognizing the so-called provisional government formed by the Afghan extremists. What would a reciprocal action mean in the situation that has emerged around the book "The Satanic Verses?" Demonstrations are still continuing in Pakistan, Iran, and other Islamic countries under the slogan "Death to Salman Rushdie." It is possible to understand people whose religious feelings have been insulted. However, death for insult will not solve the problem or protect Muslims' honor and dignity.

Social and political circles in a large number of Islamic countries think that the most effective means for defending Islamic ethics and dignity are not confined to terrorism, but rather consist of defending values from humanitarian and civic stand points. Furthermore, every sovereign Islamic country has the legitimate right to prevent the book from being published in its territory. It seems to us that the stance of those who reject terrorism is more just and more correct. Such a stance works for the consecration of peace and stability in international relations.

However, one should be logical. When choosing a reasonable and responsible stance, as we hope, one should not be intractable over other matters. Does the recognition of the government of the Afghan extremists correspond with the Muslims' aspirations? No, we do not think so. First and foremost, one should be concerned about the fate of the Afghan Muslims: They are in dire need of peace, daily bread, and national reconciliation. In order to fulfill such aspirations, the Afghan Government has urged the opposition to stop plundering, pillaging, and killing, and to take part in the formation of a broader based government.

The mujahidin have, however, rejected this only reasonable option for settling matters. What has encouraged their rebellion to a great extent, on this occasion, is the foreign powers. Here, it is not only the Pakistani military clique and Washington who have not been playing a decent role. Is it a coincidence that Saudi Arabia, which has just received the ICO foreign ministers in its capital, Riyadh, was the first to recognize the extremists' government? Of course, this was not a coincidence. Riyadh has for a long time been giving financial aid and other assistance to those who are called the protectors of Islam, despite the fact that no one is threatening Islam in Afghanistan.

Riyadh's haste to recognize the government of the rebels uncovers its desire to bring pressure to bear on the ICO members in this matter. Saudi politicians had convinced the mujahidin with their pronouncements that the battle to capture Jalalabad would be an easy one. Reality was, however, different. A big defeat befell the extremists, a matter that put their protectors in a very difficult situation. Even if they capture Jalalabad, Qandahar, or any other Afghan town, it would still be rather unlikely that the issue of peace and stability in Afghanistan would be solved as there is no military solution to the Afghan problem. There is only one way toward peace, and that is national reconciliation and implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

The Muslims of Afghanistan and other countries are not expecting the leaders of the Islamic world to support the ambitions of the extremist opposition to hold power exclusively. On the contrary, they are expecting them to play the role of a peacemaker for the sake of national reconciliation.

Iranian, Iraqi Reports of Border Clash Cited

PM1603142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS reports: "Armed Incident"]

[Text] Baghdad, 15 Mar—Iranian troops opened fire without provocation last Monday on the southern sector of the Iraq-Iran border, INA reported. The Iraqis returned the fire. UN observers have been informed of the incident, the report stressed.

Nicosia, 15 Mar—Five Iranian soldiers were wounded as a result of shooting on the Iran-Iraq border that was initiated by Iraq, an Iranian military spokesman said. According to him, there were also losses on the Iraqi side. Iraqi troops bombarded the Iranian ports of Khorramshahr and Abadan on Tuesday, this spokesman pointed out.

Possible Sale of 60 F-16's to Pakistan Viewed

BK1503170089 Moscow in Hindi to India 1400 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Oleg Ivanov commentary]

[Text] These days, South Asian observers frequently mention the possibility of the United States supplying 60 F-16 aircraft to Pakistan. As is known, Pakistan Army chief General Mirza Aslam Beg during his visit to the United States requested that the U.S. Administration sell these aircraft.

The experts believe that if the Islamabad government receives such sophisticated aircraft of widespread destructive capability in such large numbers it will mean the radical modernization of Pakistan's Air Force. The recent statement by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto supporting the general's imperative request throws light on the real intention of the Pakistani Government. The Indian newspaper PATRIOT writes that this policy would have far-reaching repercussions. The purchase of F-16 aircraft by Pakistan would upset the present balance of forces on the Indian subcontinent and induce the introduction of modern weapons in South Asia.

Obviously, this will not at all serve the cause of security and stability in this region. This makes it especially regrettable, because the trend toward improvement of India-Pakistan relations has just begun. The Islamabad meeting between Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto generated hopes where both sides expressed the desire to normalize relations and end the existing differences. As is known, the militarization of Pakistan is the main cause of tension between the two countries, hence the concern expressed by Delhi in connection to this new deal is natural.

The Washington Administration is also in a dilemma as to whether to continue the process of giving military aid to Pakistan by overlooking its nuclear ambitions, or to stop this aid and risk damaging relations with a main U.S. ally in Asia. What lies in the future is difficult to predict, but it may be recalled that the Congress rejected the plan to supply Abrams tanks worth $800 million to Pakistan. It is possible that an intense debate will also ensue in the Congress on the F-16 issue.

U.S. congressmen are very much concerned about the possible manufacture of an Islamic nuclear bomb by Pakistan. Many prominent congressmen demand that the U.S. policy toward South Asia be given a more balanced look, as was reflected in Stephen Solarz' recent visit to South Asia. It is also possible that a few congressmen will try to challenge the new President's administration on this issue as was done during the Pentagon chief's nomination.

At this stage, however, it is difficult to say who will have the upper hand. But the most logical argument is that while making any decision, the interests of the nations of this continent—who want to halt the arms race, end confrontation, and create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation—should be kept in mind. Naturally, the supply of F-16 aircraft to Pakistan will not have a positive impact in realizing this.

Petrovskiy, Egyptian Envoy Discuss Mideast, Gulf

PM1603143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy [Soviet deputy foreign minister] has had talks with A. Mahir, Egyptian ambassador in Moscow, at the latter's request, during which some questions of the international situation as a whole and, more specifically, the situation in the Near East and Persian Gulf region were touched on.

Libya Refutes U.S. Charges on Chemical Weapons

LD1603033589 Moscow TASS in English 2356 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Tripoli March 15 TASS—The Libyan news agency JANA has again refuted U.S. allegations about the production of chemical weapons in the Libyan village of Al-Rabitah.

Replying to a commentary by the radio station Voice of America, the agency pointed out that the Libyan Jamahiriyah has repeatedly declared and repeats that it has no plans to produce chemical weapons. It denounces the spread of this type of weapons and demands their destruction both in the United States and other countries where they are being produced.

This position by the U.S. Administration, JANA points out, inflicts substantial damage on international relations and creates obstacles to efforts aimed at easing international tension.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Anatoliy Gromyko on London Africa Talks

LD1503153689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (TASS)—The processes taking place in southern Africa cause concern for both the Soviet and foreign public. Anatoliy Gromyko, director of the USSR Academy of Science Africa Institute, stated that politicians, diplomats, and scholars are engaged in examining the possibilities for unblocking the regional conflict. He was speaking at a "roundtable" session on the topic: "The Prospects for a Settlement of the Conflict in Southern Africa", which was held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Well-known Soviet African specialists, representatives of the African National

Congress (ANC) of southern Africa and of the South-West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), and foreign diplomats took part in its work.

The new political thinking is masterfully penetrating life, Anatoliy Gromyko continued. An increased number of people are realizing the need for the problems of the region to be resolved politically. A meeting of Soviet and British scholars held recently on the outskirts of London was devoted to these problems. The organizers of the meeting, the British, suggested that scholars from the RSA be invited. The Soviet scholars did not object to this suggestion.

In connection with this, Anatoliy Gromyko said, one is puzzled by certain sections of an article in the British "SUNDAY TELEGRAPH" newspaper devoted to the meeting. First, these were not talks by delegations of any kind, as the article's author claimed, but a meeting of scholars of three countries with the aim of discussing the situation in southern Africa.

No one at the meeting made it a condition not to divulge the contents of the conversations. Moreover, the contents of the reports will be published in the USSR, Great Britain, and, one would like to hope, the RSA. So there can be no question of any secrecy. Anatoliy Gromyko refuted the newspaper's contentions that the meeting had discussed the matter of Cuban internationalists in Angola or change in the Soviet Union's position regarding the ANC.

The prospects for a settlement of the situation in southern Africa are difficult but not hopeless, Yuriy Yukalov, head of the Africa Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said in his speech. A great deal in the settlement of the situation in southwest Africa depends on Pretoria, he stressed, expressing the hope that the agreement between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA on a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa is not one episode in the policies of the RSA, but a long-term political line.

Calls for Sudan Cease-Fire Increase

PM1503142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[REUTER-attributed report: "G. Bush Appeals for Cease-Fire in Sudan"]

[Text] U.S. President G. Bush has appealed for a cease-fire between the sides engaged in the civil war in Sudan so that humanitarian aid can reach the wounded and peace talks can begin. "All Sudan's friends, of whom I am one, appeal to those who are responsible for continuing this war to agree to an immediate cease-fire," G. Bush stated.

Prime Minister Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, whose cabinet handed in its resignation Saturday, is forming a new government on a broad coalition basis under pressure from the military. Last month the generals demanded that the new government to either increase expenditure on the war or make efforts to stop the civil war in the south of the country, which has been going on for 5 years now between the rebels and the government troops.

The government crisis coincides with the UN appeal for a month-long cease-fire in April so that hundreds of thousands of tonnes of foodstuffs can be delivered to the country's south. According to calculations, last year in this region 250,000 people died of starvation under conditions aggravated by military actions. The United Nations believes that another 100,000 people may die this year if they do not get help.

Somali Ties With Ethiopia, USSR Improve

PM1503103389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by V. Korovikov in "Dialogue" feature under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Questions": "Peace for the Bellicose Horn"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Excerpts] "Why was there a sharp deterioration in our relations with Somalia some 10 years ago? What caused it? What are the Soviet Union's relations with that African republic like now?—B. Dmitriyev, Kazan."

Relations with Somalia did change sharply for the worse in 1977. Things reached the point where the Somali Government decided to terminate the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union signed in the summer of 1974. Although diplomatic relations were not broken off, the diverse ties and cooperation between the two states were reduced to a minimum or even ended altogether.

That sharp shift was occasioned by aggressive actions by the Somali Government and Armed Forces against revolutionary Ethiopia, where the feudal-monarchic regime was overthrown in September 1974. [passage omitted]

Relations between Ethiopia and Somalia remained strained and hostile. However, life confirmed that the long-standing confrontation in the Horn of Africa brings nothing good to the rival sides. And a sensible approach has gained the upper hand over the past 3 years. [passage omitted] The policy of improving the international situation and eliminating regional conflicts, one of whose chief initiators and creators is the Soviet Union, has had a big influence on such constructive changes in the neighbors' relations.

It is natural that Soviet-Somali ties are returning to normal and being restored. Statesmen of both countries have had meetings, Somali students will once again study in Soviet VUZ's, and a cultural exchange has begun. Problems of developing trade and economic ties are next in line.

Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed in Lagos

*LD1403233289 Moscow in English to Africa
1700 GMT 14 Mar 89*

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Lagos to form a Soviet-Nigerian Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. The commission will work out recommendations to carry out the economic treaties signed by the two nations and will promote exchanges of information and experience among officers and organizations. Finance and Economic Planning Minister [title as received] Abubakar Alhaji said at the signing ceremony that the commission would serve as a foundation for broader cooperation.

East Europe

Jaruzelski Criticizes 'Anti-Soviet Outbursts'

*PM1503160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "On an Innovative Path"]

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Mar—In the process of implementing the profound changes in Poland the party is not betraying its fundamental ideas, but it must radically change its former practice because that did not enable it to implement these great concepts effectively.

This was stated by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, addressing the traditional meeting between the Warsaw PZPR Committee and first secretaries of primary party organizations in the Polish capital and voivodship.

He noted that Poland is currently following an innovative path on which there are no pat recipes, schemes, and models. The process of socialist renewal that was started and is being implemented by the party demands equal measures of independence and responsibility. That is why party and public initiatives have such an important part to play. The times demand that one be closer to people and combat manifestations of indifference and red tape.

Touching on the "roundtable" talks, the speaker pointed out that they must not be assessed solely in profit and loss terms.

It has been a long and hard road to the present phase of agreement and national dialogue. Of course, much does and will divide us from our political opponents. But in this case it is a matter of ensuring that the burgeoning potential for rapprochement becomes more important than the differences. The party has the power to speak with its own voice and to act assertively and effectively.

Anti-Soviet outbursts cause us worry and pain, especially now that such great and valuable restructuring processes, valuable for Poland too, are under way in the USSR, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary continued. We realize that these outbursts, if they exceed certain bounds, could be dangerous. The vast majority of citizens are critical, often angrily so, of excesses that contradict Polish customs and elementary standards of political behavior, W. Jaruzelski stressed.

Hungarian Assembly Debates New Constitution

*PM1503162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch under the rubric "Events: Substance and Opinions": "Deputies Give the 'Go-Ahead'"]

[Text] Budapest—The spring session of the Hungarian National Assembly has discussed and approved the principles of the country's new Constitution.

The main topics on the agenda of the current session of the National Assembly had been agreed on in advance. On this occasion, deputies were to discuss the principles of the new Constitution and the strike law, and to elect the speaker of the parliment. However, despite this almost half of the first day of the session went to discussing the agenda.

The point was that a group of deputies, acting on behalf of the interests of a number of ecological movements and organizations, insisted that the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage on the Danube be discussed again, despite the fact that the parliament had expressed its viewpoint on this matter quite recently, in October of last year, in favor of continued construction.

It is true that since that time informal ecological groups have—they claim—collected tens of thousands of signatures in support of a petition to discontinue the construction of installations in the area of Nagymaros (IZVESTIYA has reported on this more than once). Ultimately it was decided to return to this question once again, not at this session but later, in the summer. M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, also gave a promise at the session that an additional review will be carried out of the whole range of problems connected with construction on the Danube. Only then did the deputies pass on to the discussion of questions on the agenda, beginning with the principles of the Hungarian Constitution.

According to M. Nemeth, who spoke in the debate, the task of the new Constitution, as one of the components of the political reform, is to create conditions for the functioning of the new model of socialism which will replace the excessively centralized, excessively bureaucratic political structure which has become an impediment to social development. The speaker emphasized that the new Constitution must also mark the first step along the road toward national accord and unity.

The debate on the principles of the Constitution, which had been discussed earlier by the MSZMP Central Committee and submitted for discussion by the parliament with additional proposals appended, was intense and sometimes rather critical. It must be noted that the National Assembly deputies rejected many of the additional proposals in their speeches. So, for instance, most of the deputies who took the floor opposed the creation of a second chamber of the parliament, which in their opinion would not be necessary in conditions of a multiparty system. The proposal to institute a representative for the protection of civil rights (on the Polish model) was also rejected, with the argument that since the courts deal with this, the introduction of such an institution might detract from their role. Considerable controversy was also evoked by the proposal to introduce the post of president of the Republic. Before such a post is set up, some speakers argued, it is necessary to elaborate legal guarantees to prevent the power of the president from becoming authoritarian. In order to avoid this, the president must not have the right to dissolve parliament, declare a state of emergency, or veto laws adopted by the parliament.

Participants' special attention was focused on the financial consequences of various innovations. That is quite understandable. Judging by the awesome budget deficit, there is no spare money in the government's coffers. Meanwhile, the proposed changing of the country's emblem alone will cost 6-8 billion forints, according to preliminary estimates! So that there is plenty to think about.

The second day of the session ended with the deputies' vote on the principles of the Constitution as a whole. After the session legal experts will embark on the detailed drafting of the text, taking account of the submitted proposals and criticisms. Subsequently the text will be submitted for nationwide discussion. Only after that will the text of the Constitution and the proposed designs of the country's new emblem be submitted to a nationwide referendum, presumably early in 1990.

The work of the session continued until 2200.

Aims of MSZMP Short-Term Program Outlined

PM1503151789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "MSZMP Action Program Published"]

[Text] Budapest—The MSZMP's goal is the further development of society and the building of democratic socialism taking national characteristics into account. The MSZMP relies on political experience, immutable values, and the results of social development achieved since 1945. This is what is said in the party's short-term action program "For the Future, Development, Democracy, and Socialism. What Is the MSZMP Striving For?", a program which was published here today and submitted for discussion by Hungarian communists.

The document points out that the MSZMP has begun reorganizing its forces with the aim of overcoming the crisis which has arisen. The party is breaking with the distorted and erroneous political and economic structure and dissociating itself from the mistakes of the old leadership and manifestations of subjectivism.

It is noted that the party strives consistently to implement the people's will, improve the system of political institutions, reform the economic system, and so forth. In so doing the MSZMP proclaims the goal of a multiparty system on a constitutional basis, free elections, the creation of independent trade unions, and the National Front movement which is being renewed. The economic tasks include the further development of international economic ties.

New Hungarian Groups Lack Mass Base

PM1503155189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Melnikov report: "Hungarian Alternatives: How the Ideas on the Multiparty System Are Being Implemented"]

[Text] Budapest—The past few days in Budapest have been clear, sunny, and springlike. Nature itself seems to be making people forget their difficulties, the rising prices, and the acute political disputes which flared up in February. But in just a very short time, literally the whole country will be taking to the streets on 15 March to mark the Hungarians' most revered national holiday—the anniversary of the beginning of the 1848-1849 revolution. Furthermore, this year that day has been declared a nonworking day. Nevertheless, you only have to open any newspaper to see just how complex and contradictory this holiday promises to be, your TASS correspondent in Hungary writes in his dispatch to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office.

The MSZMP, which at the February plenum declared its commitment to the multiparty system and rejected the enshrinement of its leading role in the new Constitution, has adopted a course of strengthening its influence not by preserving its formal privileges but by concrete deeds and consistent political work. On the basis of the common good and the interests of the unity of the nation, the MSZMP has proposed to the so-called alternative organizations that they establish regular dialogue and an exchange of opinions. One of the first steps in this direction was to invite the "alternativists" ["alternativshchik"] to commemorate the national holiday together. This step was to be a significant contribution to the basis of stable cooperation in the interests of socialism and the country's prosperity. However, the answer was rejection.

After putting forward their own program, a number of alternative organizations have stated that the divergences between the "official institutions" (including the party) and themselves are still too great. Therefore, they said, we shall hold separate celebrations in the capital (and perhaps in some other large cities). One may say, of course: That is their free choice. But if you consider that around 70,000 people are going to gather for the central event alone—a rally by the National Museum—then this venture of staging "alternative" and "parallel" rallies and demonstrations in the compact center of the capital does not seem quite so harmless. In addition, some organizations have voiced a desire to stage a "symbolic occupation" of the Hungarian television building during the demonstration so as to broadcast their program. It is hard to see how this tallies with their statement that "television belongs to the whole nation." After all, the alternative organizations themselves can hardly claim that they represent more than a few tens of thousands of activists.

To be blunt, the alternative organizations are still finding it difficult to establish a mass base. Evidence of that was provided by "Workers Solidarity-89," a noisy event which they organized at the end of February at the Jurta theater in Budapest. (Note that the similarity with the well-known Polish title was far from a coincidence.) Despite this, only about 100 people joined the Workers Union, a trade union formed at the meeting. As the trade union newspaper NEPSZAVA pointed out in this regard, such a figure cannot be considered impressive if you bear in mind that Hungary has over 4 million organized working people.

It is already clear that realizing the idea of a multiparty system is scarcely going to be easy for the MSZMP. The Jurta theater meeting and other bellicose events by the alternative organizations, the intensified strife among the informal groups as well as in the leadership of individual parties and movements, often make them unpredictable partners. One can understand, therefore, the cautious attitude toward cooperation with the "alternativists" among party workers and in the collectives of large enterprises.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the alternative organizations' critical remarks and suggestions have evoked among a considerable section of the population a response directly proportional to the increased difficulties and to the number of questions which the party is sometimes late in answering. Another factor is also clear: In many places it is not extremists who attach themselves to the organizations and groups of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Union of Young Democrats, and the Social Democrats, but quite responsible people who are seeking solutions to today's urgent problems and who do not find the appropriate opportunities within the framework of party organizations.

As events in a number of regions of Budapest have shown lately, cooperation with the "alternativists" helps the party avoid confrontation with individual groups of discontents and resolve the urgent problems, and teaches broad sections of the population not only how to criticize but to bear the burden of responsibility for the fate of their enterprise, village, or region. It is noteworthy that cooperation with the members of Hungarian informal movements is most effective in villages, hamlets, and small towns.

It is clear now that a tremendous desire for action has built up within society. The MSZMP is ready to cooperate with all forces which accept the Constitution and the country's other laws, accept the socialist path of development, and respect the alliance commitments. The party intends to conduct a proper dialogue and interested discussion with opposition forces, too, while reserving the right where necessary to enter into a political struggle with them.

Nevertheless, despite the noisy political and ideological battles of late, Hungarian comrades are not losing sight of the main aim—to rectify the extremely complex economic situation, create the foundations for stabilizing and subsequently raising the living standard, which has fallen below the level of the late seventies, and beginning a reform which will be difficult but acutely necessary for society. Here, too, of course, there are alternatives and different viewpoints. I heard one of them expressed in a high-ranking official's room soon after the January price hike. "We did not raise them enough," my interlocutor said. "They should have been raised much more so as to really shake all society and present each person with the choice—either work or beg. The government should retain its composure even if strikes and demonstrations begin."

That was the opinion of Laszlo Kiss, secretary of the MSZMP district committee in one of Budapest's largest industrial areas—the famous Red Csepel.

"Many of our workers," my interlocutor noted, "condemn the recent price measures because they have had a significant impact on the position of working people and their families. However, they say that the reaction to the government's measures should not be to stop work, nor should it be the raising of wages without a concomitant increase in labor productivity. What is needed first and foremost is a serious attitude toward honest labor."

CSSR's Jakes Cited on Dubcek's Present Role

PM1503145589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 3

[Own correspondent Yevgeniy Nefedov response to reader's letter: "What Has Happened to Dubcek?"]

[Text] In Western radio broadcasts I am constantly hearing once again the name of Alexander Dubcek, former leader of the CPCZ in the late sixties. What is he actually doing nowadays?

T. Krivenko, Vinnitsa.

Yevgeniy Nefedov, our correspondent in the CSSR, replies:

Not only Western but also CSSR mass media have been carrying periodical items on this man recently. In one such report, RUDE PRAVO quoted the opinion of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, that Alexander Dubcek is a private individual and no longer plays a significant role in politics.

SFRY Chamber Adopts Government Changes

LD1603032689 Moscow TASS in English 0009 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade March 15 TASS—Changes and amendments to the law on the state government system of Yugoslavia were approved on Wednesday by the Federal Chamber, one of the Federal Assembly's two houses.

All the federal committees are being abolished and their powers are henceforth to be vested in the federal secretariats (ministries).

Of the new government's twelve secretariats, five federal agencies are already operative. These include Secretariats for Foreign Affairs, National Defence, Internal Affairs, Finance, and Foreign Economic Relations.

The seven newly established agencies will be in charge of trade, energy and industry, transport and communications, agriculture, general development, labour, public health, social security and veterans' affairs, justice and federal administration.

Another innovation abolishes the principle of equal representation of the republics and the autonomous provinces in the Federal Executive Council. The principle of required unanimous vote when promulgating government current policy documents is also to be withdrawn. This will make numerous coordinating and inter-republican committees redundant.

The country's official news agency TANJUG reports that the reorganisation is meant to enhance the powers and independence of the federal administration bodies and heighten their responsibility before the country's National Assembly and government.

The Federal Chamber has also endorsed Yugoslavia'a national budget.

Yugoslav Envoy Received at Foreign Ministry

PM1503164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, at his request. In the course of the friendly conversation an exchange of opinions took place on certain questions of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

Mine Blasting Causes Tremor in GDR

PM1503163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "Explosion Caused Earthquake"]

[Text] Berlin—Blasting in the Ernst Thaelmann potassium extraction underground mine in the little town of Merkers, in the Bad-Salzzungen region in the south of the GDR, caused an underground shock measuring 5.5 on the Richter scale.

The earthquake damaged homes and farm buildings in five settlements in the region. Several people were injured by collapsing chimneys, and many inhabitants were forced to leave their homes. The electricity network and telephone links were broken, and traffic was stopped by rubble in the streets.

All the miners who were underground at the time of the earthquake were able to get to the surface safely. Under the leadership of the local authorities, civil defense detachments, people's police, fire prevention officials, and groups of volunteers joined in dealing with the consequences of the earthquake.

A commission has been set up by the GDR Mines Main Administration to carry out an on-the-spot investigation into the circumstances which led to the underground shock.

It is reported that earth tremors were felt in other regions and districts in the republic. They were felt in Magdeburg and Eisleben and were registered in Czechoslovakia and the FRG.

Political & Social

Text of Gorbachev Speech to Agriculture Plenum

LD1603110289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev to the 15 March CPSU Central Committee extended plenum on agriculture; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, our society has great expectations of the current plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

The plenum is to work out and offer the nation an agrarian policy that will be able to restore the peasant as the master on the land and dependably resolve the food problem.

Further delay in this matter is simply inadmissible. The fact that we are putting the situation thus is dictated by the real situation that has come about in the country and by the general tasks of restructuring.

We need an agrarian policy that will secure radical changes in rural development—political, economic, social, and cultural—and the solution within the shortest possible time of problems that have accumulated in one of the basic spheres of the vital functioning of our society, something that will open up scope for the initiative of the rural workers.

When talking about agrarian policy, we mean the entirety of ideas, aims, ways and means of shaping and regulating relations between town and village, and in the village itself, with top priority given to the solution of the food issue.

Agrarian changes are inseparable from the current political and economic reforms aimed at meeting diverse requirements of the individual and encouraging his labor and social activity.

Without the revolutionary renewal of our society's life, without democratization and a new ideology of economic management, it is impossible to create a highly efficient agrarian sector of our economy. Precisely in the same way, cardinal changes in the countryside are an essential prerequisite for the country's economic and social progress.

In other words, the present-day agrarian policy is not something narrowly specific, is not merely of a departmental character.

No, it is now the main direction of our entrire political course, an organic part of revolutionary restructuring.

In the final analysis, the elaboration of a modern agrarian policy is inseparable from the formation of new notions about socialism on the whole and its social and economic prospects.

As is known, preparations for the plenum began long ago. Agrarian problems have been and still are being extensively and comprehensively discussed in the party, within scientific circles, among experts. There is no need to say more, comrades, these vital issues are being discussed by the entire country.

The Politburo has not only attentively followed this discussion that we all need very much, but encouraged it in all ways and sought to create an atmosphere of creative businesslike modes of approach to see as deeply as possible into the essence of the complicated problems we will have to handle.

A vast amount of material comprising diverse judgements, proposals and viewpoints, sometimes directly opposed, has been analyzed.

I think it will be correct to say that the report at this plenum and the drafts of corresponding documents that you have, constitute a specific result of the all-party, all-nation discussion.

At this plenary meeting of the Central Committee, we count on a profound, constructive discussion of theoretical, political and practical issues in order to work out a long-term, scientifically substantiated agrarian policy meeting society's growing requirements.

We all remember the concern expressed by delegates to the 19th national party conference when discussing the food supply situation in the country. We described this problem as our society's biggest wound.

Great concern over the issue was voiced at recent party report-and-election meetings and conferences.

Working people held spirited discussions on these issues at this stage as well, during the election campaign.

The reality is such that we experience shortages of farming produce. The state has to buy large quantities of grain, meat, fruits, vegetables, sugar, vegetable oil and some other staples abroad.

We are still behind developed countries, big and small, in productivity, yield capacity of fields and livestock productivity and in the diversity and quality of foodstuffs. The gap is widening, rather than narrowing.

The shortage of food creates social tension and generates not merely criticism, but actual discontent.

This situation with food supplies has continued for many years.

One should not think that we did not see those problems and did not handle them. I would say that there is not a single problem in the national economy which has had more attention that the agrarian one from the Central Committee and the government.

The agrarian sector received many resources, including capital investment, machinery and mineral fertilizers, over the past two decades. A large-scale program to improve the land has been carried out.

But we failed to obtain either the returns on which we had counted or the increment which we had expected from the measures adopted.

So far, we have been unable to find a cardinal solution to the food problem despite the fact that the country possesses great potential.

In our country the state of affairs with the preservation and rational use of land resources, our main national wealth, is extremely unfavorable.

Twenty-two million hectares of previously cultivated arable land have been lost in the past 25 years. Around 12 million hectares of that area were used for industrial construction and roads, and more than six million hectares were neglected, to be overgrown with shrubs.

At the same time, huge sums of money were channeled to develop millions of hectares of new land.

The fertility of fields is declining in most regions. More than three million hectares of irrigated land—the Golden fund in each state—have pratically dropped out of cultivation due to mismanagement.

It is worth adding that the country has lost more than ten million hectares of flood meadows and pastures during the past two decades due to misconceived hydraulic power generation projects.

The huge losses of agricultural produce are also disturbing. Mismanagement is responsible for the loss of up to 20 percent of everything raised in the countryside. The figures for some products are even higher—30-40 percent.

The countryside lags far behind urban areas in social and cultural development.

Lack of good roads is a problem in all regions. It is a sheer disaster in the non-chernozem belt. Provision of the countryside with well-appointed housing, communal services, schools, medical, and cultural institutions is beneath criticism.

Sometimes one has to travel scores and even hundreds of kilometers to get the most urgent things done—receive medical assistance, benefit by elmentary services or buy primitive necessities.

I do not wish to arouse passions, but it ought to be said, nevertheless, that the situation is so grave in many regions that people are deserting the land, moving out of villages. Migration of the rural population has reached a critical level in several regions of the country.

What is the matter? Why didn't our measures, including some very serious ones, yield the desired results, why didn't they make the necessary changes in the countryside?

This is the main question that has to be answered. We must get to the essence of it, uncover the current acute situation in our countryside, in the country's food supply. We must find ways of solving it.

It is useful to refer to history for this purpose, to look at our approaches to agrarian policy at various stages of our society's develpment and to draw lessons for our future efforts.

The peasant problem has always been center stage in our party's policy, both from the point of view of revolutionary theory and the task of building a new society.

The agrarian policy, elaborated by the party, and the huge practical efforts of Bolsheviks in the countryside, are responsible for the fact that the peasant masses had sided with the revolution and with the working class in October 1917.

One of the first decrees issued by the Soviet power—the decree on land, was an expression of this policy. It settled the land problem from positions of the working peasantry at large.

Even in the grim years of the civil war, in its most critical periods, the party did not lose sight of the situation in the countryside, of the problem of working class' alliance with the peasantry.

Transition to the new economic policy [NEP] was dictated precisely by the interests of safeguarding this alliance, of upholding the achievements of the revolution.

The party's agrarian policy during the NEP period envisaged:

—substitution of a tax in kind for the requisitioning of food, which limited the volume of products that could be taken away from peasant households,
—permitting free trade,
—extensive development of the cooperative movement,
—land renting and hired labor within definite limits,
—state regulation of the economy by means of prices, taxes and credits,
—development of the contract system,
—gradual adjustment of equivalent exchange between town and countryside,
—priority restoration and development of agriculture as a necessary precondition for raising people's living standards and for the country's industrialization.

The new economic policy stemmed logically from the objective development of the revolutionary process and was conceived in all earnestness and for a long period to come. It was based on the grassroots initiative, on democracy, cost-accounting and diverse forms of cooperation.

This road to socialism was accessible and understandable for the peasantry.

And it yielded prompt results. The level of production, attained before the First World War, was reached again in 1925 as regards many goods.

In 1927 the country had scores of thousands of agricultural associations and cooperatives, including 6.3 thousand land cultivation associations, 8.5 thousand artels and communes.

The peasants joined together in consumer societies. Consumer cooperatives became important commercial intermediaries between farmers, as producers, and urban dwellers, as consumers.

More than half of the entire volume of retail trade was handled by consumer cooperatives in 1926-1927. They accounted for a substantial part of the grain, meat, eggs, flax and many other products procured from the peasantry.

The system of contracts, concluded by state and cooperative organizations with peasant households, was developed appreciably in the second half of the twenties. Such contracts provided also for the delivery of means of production and for agro-technical assistance to peasant households.

This in itself was a big step to developing economic relations, since it restricted market forces and outlined the contours of a mechanism for exerting planned influence on the production, processing and marketing of agricultural produce.

All in all, implementation of the new economic policy confirmed the correctness of V.I. Lenin's economic management principles and methods, his evaluation of the role of cooperation and of trade exchange with the peasantry as the economic foundation of socialism.

But in the second half of the 1920s the new economic policy [NEP] encountered a number of difficulties and contradictions brought on by the complicated state of the national economy. Industry was weak and it could not provide the peasants with a sufficient number of necessary goods.

As a result, the development of agriculture was increasingly curbed by the limited material and technical possibilities.

The state of the material and technical base is illustrated in particular by the following figures:

In 1928, more than 70 percent of areas under spring crops were sown by hand, about 45 per cent of all cereals were harvested by means of sickles and scythes, and more than 40 percent of the entire harvest was threshed by means of flails.

With such a material and technical basis the impact of market relations began to weaken and the agricultural production growth rate slowed down.

Meanwhile the large-scale work to implement industrialization plans required more and more material, labor and financial resources.

The urban population increased by approximately four percent a year. The money incomes of the working people and their effective demand grew rapidly. People in towns began to experience a shortage of bread and other foodstuffs. Rationing had to be introduced.

A crisis situation made itself felt in the country. Questions concerning ways of further development, the destiny of industrialization, and solutions to the food problem arose. They were assuming a special political coloring and, I would say, an emergency character.

All that affected the fundamental question, that of the alliance between the working class and peasantry and the attitudes to the peasantry.

At that crucial stage of our history the country's leadership did not take the road of a search for economic methods to solve problems and contradictions, the elaboration of an economic policy suited to the new conditions and based on Leninist principles and on NEP experience, but a different, diametrically opposite road, that of curtailing NEP, commodity-money relations, belittling the role of material incentives for work and applying command economic tasks.

With regard to the peasantry, Stalin and his very close entourage virtually implemented the Trotskiy-Preobrazhenskiy concept, which they themselves had criticized, about primary socialist accumulation by means of transfer of resources from agriculture to industry which was virtually not paid for. In effect they also employed the Zinovyev- Kamenev idea of extraordinary taxation of the prosperous strata of the countryside.

The peasants' natural discontent brought on by all those actions was interpreted as a sort of sabotage. This was used as a justification for the need to apply repressive measures.

In the final analysis, such an approach resulted in a serious strategic miscalculation and departure from Marxist views and notions concerning ways of solving the agrarian- peasant question.

It could be recalled in this respect that the founders of Marxism resolutely rejected the idea of expropriating the peasant holding and regarded it as extremely reactionary and ruinous for socialist transformations.

Way back in 1894 Friedrich Engels wrote: When possessing state power, we would not even think of forcibly expropriating small peasants [phrase as received]. Our task in regard to small peasants is first of all to turn their private production and their property into partnership, not forcibly but through example, offering social assistance with this end in view. In this sense we may consequently be highly liberal with regard to peasants.

For Lenin, a whole historical epoch is required for organizing peasants into cooperatives.

Taking this into consideration Lenin formulated such basic principles for the socialist reorganisation of the peasant holdings as voluntary participation and its gradual character, the inadmissibility of any measures of coercion whatsoever during peasants' transition to a collective agricultural production, taking their interests into account together with the interests of the entire society, and a large-scale utilization of various forms of cooperatives with material and technical assistance on the part of the state.

The agrarian program and policy of the Bolshevik party were being formed on these principles.

Speaking of command-and-administer approaches in attitudes to the peasantry, one should admit that they mainifested themselves in their ugliest form in forcible methods, the speeded-up pace of complete collectivization of agriculture and voluntarist intervention in the processes of production, exchange and distribution.

Methods of extra-economic coercion of the war Communism times were revived in the agrarian sector. The individual's aspiration to be a master on his own land, the aspiration which had been legislatively recognized way back by the decree on land was declared to be a left-over of the private-owner mentality.

The entire diversity of land management techniques was in practice reduced to one form. Any economic independence of collective and state farms was ruled out and their members were put in the position of day-laborers.

The democratic institutions were curtailed: The kolkhoz center, kolkhoz unions, and many types of cooperatives were abolished, a ramified bureaucratic apparatus came to dominate collective and state farms and the peasantry.

As a result, tremendous damage was inflicted upon agriculture. The cattle stock dwindled, the output of farm products sharply diminished, the provisions of towns with food deteriorated, and consumption in villages decreased. In 1932-1933 famine even broke out in a number of places owing to these causes as well as drought.

Combined with the disturbance of commodity-money exchanges, the normal functioning of the economy as a whole was seriously disrupted. The agricultural production level achieved by the begining of collectivization was exceeded only twice in pre-war years—in 1937 and 1940.

Evaluating the events of those years, we are also obliged to speak about human tragedy. In the process of combatting the kulaks, violence was inflicted upon the huge mass of middle-strata peasants and even poor ones.

Million of peasants, together with their families, were torn away from their land plots and native areas and suffered misfortunes, often dying in camps and exile.

The most flagrant departures from the Leninist course in the agrarian sphere led to great social, economic, and ethical costs.

The replacement of relations with peasants, based on goods exchanges and mutual profit, by those of diktat signified not only a rethink of agrarian policy but also brought about a fundamental new political and social situation in the country.

This and the voluntaristic methods of management in industry for the most part formed the administrative and command system of managing society on the whole.

In the concrete historical situation which arose out of the specific internal and external factors of the time, the forces which ignored the objective laws of societal development and gravitated towards the military-Communist methods of building a new society took the upper hand.

A simplified view of socialism was spread among the masses and it was alleged that it would be built in a short period of time—two to three five-year periods at the maximum.

These views formed the basis for the political course of forced industrialization, of the rapid reorganization of the entire peasantry along the lines of the proletariat, of the conversion of the small scale peasant economy into a special system of large-scale factories of industrial type.

While noting the erroneousness of the approaches to collectivization, I would like to stress nevertheless that it would be wrong to deny on this basis the need for socialist transformations in the countryside, just as it would have been illegitimate to draw conclusions about the inefficiency of the collective farm system.

No, there are huge potentialities inherent in the collective system which could be fully unfolded and yield remarkable results only with correct economic relations.

The experience of thousands upon thousands of front-ranking farms in our country and other socialist countries confirms this.

In subsequent years much experience suggested eliminating the impeding factors that were created as a result of rigid regulation of the economic activity of collective and state farms, of renouncing command methods in the management of the agrarian sector, of restoring Lenin's principles of relations with the peasantry. But that was not done.

The war inflicted a most severe blow on the country's agriculture. The productive forces in agriculture, at a low level as they were, were seriously undermined.

Before the war our country remained largely a peasant country. Therefore when we speak about the feat of Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, we have to pay tribute to the feat of peasants, that of labor—the provision of foodstuffs for the Army and workers of the rear—and that of arms. Millions of peasants' sons fell on the battlefield defending their motherland.

For the sake of objectivity it should be said that major steps were taken in the post-war years to restore the war-ravaged regions of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic area.

But a new agrarian policy, which the whole countryside so needed, was never elaborated.

Moreover, the command mechanisms, ways of pumping resources out of the countryside and the disdainful attitude to the conditions of life of rural workers not only did not weaken but became even more sophisticated.

On the basis of the unbalanced exchange huge resources were taken out of the countryside.

For example, in 1946-1953 agriculture produced 298 billion rubles' worth of national income (the figure also includes the portion which was used in other sectors), of which only 193 billion rubles were used in agriculture (the figure takes into account the share of agriculture in the total state expenditure). This means that 105 billion rubles were reallocated from agriculture into other sectors of the economy.

Remuneration for the work of collective farmers was, in fact, rather symbolic. They had to live mainly by their small-holdings, on which exorbitant taxes were imposed.

Every peasant homestead had to pay taxes on land and to give to the state, often irrespective of whether it was within its ability, a fixed quantity of meat, milk, eggs, wool, and other products.

Things often went to absurd lengths. As is known, a tax was even invented on each fruit tree, no matter whether it yielded fruit or not.

The disdainful attitude to the collective farmers also manifested itself in the fact that they were not entitled to pensions. They had no passports and could not leave the countryside without permission.

After 1953 fairly significant economic, political, and organizational measures were taken to strengthen agriculture.

In accordance with the decisions of the 1953 September plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee more realistic purchasing prices for farm produce were introduced, the principle of planning from below was declared and tax policy was regulated.

Material incentives for rural workers increased, pensions were introduced and the limitations of the passport system were lifted. The collective farms received the right to make changes in their statutes to reflect local conditions. A large-scale program to open up 42 milion hectares of virgin and fallow lands was implemented.

These measures began to bear fruit as agriculture started to move forward at rather high rates.

On the whole the growth of agricultural production amounted to 34 per cent in five years after 1953 as compared with the previous five-year period. Intensive factors came to have a greater impact on the results of management.

The process of restoring health to the economy of the collective farms was underway. Cash incomes per homestead increased by 130 percent in 1957 as compared with 1952 and farmers were paid three times more for one day's work.

The elaboration and implementation of an agrarian policy that corresponded to the new stage of the country's development was marked by keen ideological and political struggle with the conservative forces. Nevertheless really major steps forward were made.

But unjustified interference in the activities of collective and state farms, the foisting of all manner of directives on them by central authorities, and unwarranted reorganization drives soon resumed.

Systematic increases in the prices of building materials and other means of production needed in agriculture, and machine and tractor stations' sales of machinery to collective farms at high prices adversely affected the economic position of cooperative and government-run farms, fettered production growth and once again led to unbalanced exchanges.

What was effectively the leftist concept of killing off private subsidiary small-holdings, whose existence allegedly hindered the affirmation of socialist relations in the countryside, began to be implemented at that time.

The policy of eliminating so-called unpromising villages was also stepped up.

All this resulted, in the final analysis, in declining agricultural poduction growth rates, a dramatically aggravated grain problem and worse food supplies.

Another attempt to develop an effective agrarian policy was launched at the party Central Committee's plenum in March 1965.

In keeping with its decisions, measures were taken to redistribute national income in favor of farming, tackle villages' social problems on a larger scale, employ economic methods to develop the agrarian sector, and intensify production on collective and state farms. The purchase prices of farm produce were raised.

The measures were supported by the farming community and boosted the countryside's economic activity. The 8th 5-Year Plan period, as you know, proved fairly successful in all performance indicators.

But the decisions of the March plenum were not fulfilled either and the course charted by it was later seriously twisted.

The economic conditions of management were sapped by increasing unbalanced exchanges between town and country. Collective and state farms were deprived of the possibility to earn needed funds, this telling negatively on their economic position.

As a result, both collective farms and state farms ended up, on the whole, in the red by 1980, although in 1970 the overall profit rate of state farms amounted to 22 percent and that of collective farms to 34 percent.

In the late'60s and the early'70s an attempt was undertaken to solve problems of agriculture by widely promoting interfarm cooperative arrangements and creating agro-industrial enterprises and amalgamations.

But even these measures, which in principle were right, were, in the way they were proposed, divorced from the real situation.

A considerable part of the money funneled to the countryside was spent on costly construction projects and thus converted into walls rather than greater soil fertility, machines and better social amenities in villages.

In the final analysis, the expenses often brought heavy losses instead of the expected economic benefits.

Unregulated economic relations in the agrarian sector, continuing outdated methods of economic management, and bad mistakes in the way labor was organized and paid seriously weakened financial motivation for rural workers.

In this situation even guaranteed pay for farmers' work—which in itself was an important social gain at the time—spawned increased parasitic attitudes since it wasn't pegged to the ultimate results of production.

The social backwardness of country increased migration to town.

In a word, farming, the whole agrarian sector and all our economy in general found themselves by the beginning of the'80s in a state that cried out for emergency measures.

It was decided in this situation to work out a food program which was then endorsed by the May 1982 Central Committee plenum.

In this way it proved possible somehow to arrest the gathering crisis and even to improve the situation in agriculture. You know data on this score. But the decisions of the May plenum bore also the imprint of their time and were compromise half-measures by nature.

An in-depth analysis of the nation's economic development, which was made at the April 1985 and subsequent Central Committee plenums, the 27th congress and the 19th party conference, and a critical view of the state of affairs in the food sector make it imperative today to examine the entire package of agrarian problems anew.

What are the main lessons to be learnt from the past? What is to be taken into account when working out agrarian policy in the period of restructuring?

First of all, we must draw a general conclusion. It is that Lenin's concept of revolutionary socialist change remains ever relevant and that it is inadmissible to deform it.

The greatest damage to the cause of socialism was done by burying Lenin's underlying idea of socialism as the vital creative activity of the masses.

The new society is being built in the name of working people's interests and by working people themselves. This presupposes broad public involvement in all processes of transformation, the all-round extension of democracy, and the affirmation of principles of popular government and self-administration.

No social change, regardless of how noble the slogans behind it, can be effected contrary to the interests of the masses and without their direct participation.

While being recognized in word, these fundamental ideas by Lenin were in fact ignored and replaced by command-and- administer methods.

This tremendously hurt the entire social development of the country and seriously distorted the activities of political institutions. Departures from Lenin's concept for building socialism were especially harmful for the situation in the countryside.

Both theory and practice prove that agrarian policy can become and indeed is one of the more important factors for consolidating and furthering socialist change if it correctly reflects the needs of social development and the interests of the working class and farmers.

By contrast, if agrarian policy allows these interests to clash, it not only undermines agriculture but also engenders serious difficulties in the development of all society.

This is, comrades, the general, basic conclusion. But we should also draw more specific lessons in order to develop an up-to-date agrarian policy.

First, the entire experience of socialist change in the countryside, with all the achievements, accomplishments and enormous losses, corroborates Lenin's overriding idea that agrarian policy should be geared to forging such relations of production and such forms of economic managments as would firmly assure the farmer of the master's position on land.

Secondly, both the agrarian sector and society as a whole cannot develop successfully without economically viable and fair relations between town and country, between the agrarian and the other economic sectors. Any imbalance in this respect has serious implications.

This conclusion is not only economically and socially but also politically significant as the matter at issue is an alliance of the working class and the farming community, and the fate of socialism.

Third, the need for democratic methods for managing the economy and all social processes stems from the very substance of the socialist system.

It follows from this that the command-and-administer system is unacceptable. Its methods are all the more intolerable in agriculture which deals in land and very diverse natural and climatic conditions.

Fourth, it is very important to see the vibrant dialectics of production relations and productive forces in the countryside.

While giving priority to radically restructuring economic relations in various branches of the agro-industrial sector, we should not forget about developing its material and technological foundation, especially now that the scientific and technological revolution is spreading to all spheres of material production, including agriculture.

Fifth, a most important lesson that we, comrades, should learn well is that disregard for rural workers' working and living conditions is inadmissible.

The agrarian policy we are now working out should concentrate on a genuine revival of the village so that farmers and agricultural work will be given their due in society. This is not only a crucial social and economic need but also, I would say, our moral duty.

Without drastically changing the position of farmers in society one cannot seriously expect to solve production issues and the food problem. Concern for rural dwellers is at the center of our current agrarian policy.

Such are some of the lessons of history and some of the principal conclusions that can be drawn from them.

Comrades, we should work out an agrarian policy that would enable us to blunt the sharp edge of the food problem in the immediate future and to grow enough farm produce, in terms of both amount and choice, to stabilize food supplies in the 13th Five-Year Plan period.

Following the new agrarian policy, we should make major social and economic changes in the countryside and reach modern standards in agricultural production and in the transportation, storage and processing of farm produce, which will be an important factor for the harmonious development of the entire economy.

This is the paramount social, economic and political task confronting the party and all society.

It is natural to ask: Which agricultural production levels should we reach and what resources will be needed for this?

The documents handed out to you list proposals on this score. It is extremely important and essential to reach the targets specified there. But I think that at this plenum we should concentrate on searching for ways, and drawing up a package of practical measures, to do this.

The Politburo believes that the key issue of modern agrarian policy is that of fundamentally reorganizing economic relations in the countryside.

I would like to stress this once again as debates in the run-up to the plenum have demonstrated that some people seriously undrestimate how timely and important it is to choose the ways and means of reaching our formulated objectives.

One of the most entrenched opinions is that providing the countryside with more machines, fertilizer, building materials and capital outlays and accelerating land improvement efforts will, by themselves, be enough to solve all the problems.

The village does need much and we must give it much. It is hard to challenge this.

Nevertheless, analysis of history and the experience of the past few years of restructuring offer compelling evidence that if we opt for this as the mainstay of agrarian policy, we shall make a serious mistake.

This is because huge capital and other investments have been made in agriculture over recent years but the inputs have failed to yield equally substantial results.

This has been characteristic not only of such a difficult region with challenging conditions as the Non-Chernozem earth belt in the Russian Federation.

Let's take a look at the Ukraine. Over the past 20 years basic production assets in its agriculture have increased by 320 percent, fertilizer supplies have trebled and farmers' pay has increased by 170 percent, while agricultural output has grown by just 39 percent.

We talk about the well-deserved achievements of advanced farms in the Baltic constituent republics. But a similar trend is in evidence there as well. Over the past 20 years basic production assets in farming have increased in Lithuania almost fivefold, in Latvia by 3.8 times and in Estonia by 4.1 times.

Gross agricultural output grew respectively: in Lithuania, by 45 percent, in Latvia, by 39 percent, and in Estonia, by 33 percent.

The cost of main types of produce increased on the collective and state farms in these republics: for instance, those of the weight gain of large-horned cattle by 2.3 times; those of pig weight gain, by 1.6-1.7 times; those of milk, by 1.6-1.8 times, and of vegetables, by 1.6- 2.2 times.

There was a similar situation in the union republics of Central Asia. In Uzbekistan, for instance, 1.6 million hectares of irrigated land have been put to use in the past twenty years, main production assets in agriculture increased six-fold, while gross output went up by 78 percent.

The fact that similar trends are manifested in regions with different agriculture conditions show that the root cause is rather deep, and is not due to limits on material and technical resources.

Comrades, we should give up as soon as possible the old, customary and, probably, even convenient stereotypes. It is necessary to realize as quickly as possible that without a drastic change in economic relations and social conditions in the countryside, neither capital investment nor machinery will start working.

This conclusion stems not only from negative lessons of the past, but also from the contemporary experience of front-rank farms. Their accomplishments have become possible primarily thanks to the use of new economic approaches, greater material incentives and concern for and care of the individual.

The essence of economic change in the countryside should be in granting farmers broad opportunities for displaying independence, enterprise and initiative.

We should resolutely overcome the alienation of rural workers—as indeed we should that of all working people—from property that still belongs to them only formally.

It is necessary to radically change forms of the exercise of the rights of the socialist owner through the extensive use of diverse forms of economic management and relations of cost accountancy.

The restructuring of economic relations in the countryside demands the revision, in theory and in practice, of existing views on socialist ownership.

The entrenched division of forms of ownersip, using artificial criteria, into higher and lower forms, into consistently and inconsistently socialist forms, has largely determined the dogmatic approaches to the choice of ways of running the economy and organizing management and has resulted in major failings.

The point at issue today is to recognize the equality of various forms of socialist ownership of the means of production and of economic management based on them.

We should ensure scope for diverse forms of economic management—collective and state farms, agricultural firms and agricultural combines, peasants' and personal subsidiary holdings, agricultural workshops of industrial, construction and other non-agrarian enterprises, auxiliary businesses, and so on.

It is necessary to adopt a new approach to family and individual peasants' work. Like cooperation, its rights must be restored. This, in particular, refers to commodity- producing farms based on farmers' own work.

And, of course, we must fully restore the rights of personal subsidiary holdings of the working people.

All the economic forms can closely interact within the social and economic structure of our society, compete among themselves, complement one another and prove by deeds their efficiency and potential.

The most important thing is that the new mechanism of economic management, cooperation and leasing should fully reveal the immense potential intrinsic in collective and state farms and put into effect what was conceived during the transition to collective forms of work.

What is the main way to resolve this task? In essence we need to democratize economic life to enable a drastic restructuring of collective farms along the lines of turning them into a supreme type of cooperative. Essentially the same approach is applicable to state-run farms.

Time will naturally be required to implement our plans on restructuring economic relations and securing a broad diversity of forms of economic management in the countryside. Let us not simplify the task, as we are initiating a radical change in the entire way of rural life.

Promoting lease-based relations in the country is one of the most important and, probably, most decisive ways at this stage to restructure socialist ownership relations.

It is through lease-holding that it is possible to implement in full Lenin's idea of drawing on personal interest, restoring the sense of being one's own master and encouraging creative possibilities.

A discussion is under way in society on issues of lease-holding. The range of views is rather wide. Many managers of front-rank collective and state farms, while expressing in principle positive views about leasing, believe that their farms can make do without it.

These farms are known to have attained a high level of returns on the land and assets, they make extensive use of the potentialities offered by cost accountancy.

This is correct. But one should look into the future. All collectives, including the best ones, must seek ways to increase production and enhance its efficiency.

To be blunt, advancement towards new frontiers will become increasingly complicated, and traditional methods may not be sufficient.

Even with this situation, I would not reject lease contracts. But, as the saying goes, let life say its decisive word. I think that a decision on this question should be taken by the work force of our front-rank collective and state farms.

There is another, I would say, directly opposite opinion on lease-based relations and the fate of collective and state farms on the whole.

Its advocates maintain that they should be disbanded, and their land and other means of production be handed over to leaseholders. I believe that this viewpoint is both scientifically and practically ungrounded.

There is a possibility that in some cases such decisions might be adopted as well. But the mainstream direction is the transition of both collective and state farms to internal leasing and their transformation by establishing cooperatives of leaseholders.

We should not underestimate the real fact that the present-day collective and state farms possess a developed, even if insufficient, infrastructure, that is capable of satisfying many requirements of the leaseholder.

The same applies to their provision with means of production and to numerous services, marketing of produce and even to the pooling of efforts in the social development of the territory.

Suffice it to look at the experience of cooperatives not only in socialist, but also in capitalist countries to see that cooperatives and small farms need to pool their efforts, one way or another, to meet their production and social needs.

It seems that the proposal to disband collective and state farms was formed largely under the influence of fears for the fate of lease-based relations, for fear that their development may be blocked by the hard to overcome resistance of certain forces.

What can be said to that? There is resistance to things new, and it will not disappear overnight. The experience of the past two-three years has shown that real obstacles in the way of the transition of collective and state farms and other enterprises to lease contract are reduced to two points.

On the one hand, people want to have secure legal guarantees that would make them confident of the seriousness and longevity of our policy.

We can and should immediately dispel these fears by proposing a decree of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on lease-holding and lease-based relations in the USSR. You have the draft. In our view, it would protect the interests both of lease-holders and lease-givers.

A law on leasing could be worked out before the end of the year.

On the other hand, lease contract, as life has shown, drastically alters the status of agriculture specialists. In this connection, some of them are rather critical of this form of economic management.

I am convinced, though, that the majority of specialists will find their place as the new relations are established in the country, because these relations enable them to reveal their capabilities more fully and derive professional satisfaction, not to mention material incentives.

Leasing is also received with caution by that part of collective farmers and workers who have lost, over many years, the habit of working conscientiously and got used to steady incomes irrespective of the end results of their work.

We must depart from this, otherwise we will not advance. We must start making payment depend on the end result—this is the realistic avenue here. This will put many things in their place right away.

In resolving all issues connected with the transition to lease contract, mindful of past experience, we should strictly comply with Leninist principles, above all that of voluntariness. Let us not fix targets, let us not set deadlines.

If the plenum backs the relevant proposals of the Politburo, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Government and we adopt corresponding documents, this will create legal and economic prerequisites for an extensive transition to leasing. Then the process will develop naturally, within the normal channels, and, I am sure, far quicker than previously.

In this connection I would like to stress the need for using diverse forms of leasing.

Not only collective and state farms, agricultural firms and agricultural combines and their subdivisions, but also individual peasant families can work on these terms. They are able to develop neglected lands and small farms, especially in regions of the Russian Federation's Non-Chernozem zone, in Belorussia and in the Baltic region.

Use of shareholding and joint-stock principles should not be excluded from economic practice. In other words, there is much room for initiative here.

But in any case, it is necessary to clearly define the rights and duties of leaseholders and leasers, principles of their work, formation of lease-based and joint-stock relations within the framework of collective and individual ownership and the place and role of these forms of ownership in the overall system of socialist relations of production.

The point at issue here is the transfer of land and other means of production to leaseholders, their real control over these means, including the independent formation of the production structure and the right of the leaseholder to dispose of the lease-based income, endorsed in a contract, and so on.

The leaseholders shall pay the state a corresponding tax for use of the land, bear strict responsibility for the preservation and quality of the section leased, and exactly meet commitments under the contract.

It is important to make a new and, I would say, decisive transition from the establishment of individual collectives operating on a lease contract to the operation of all units of the farm on lease principles, to their spread to interrelated on-farm cycles.

It is extremely important to prevent the idea from being distorted and not to allow attempts at passing off various forms of economic management that either deform the basic principles of leaseholding or have nothing to do with them altogether, as the lease system.

Any attempts at putting co-ops into the hands of the state and any administrative interference in the affairs of production collectives must be resolutely ruled out.

The restructuring of the forms of property entails changes in economic relations between town and country and between different economic sectors on the basis of the continued spread of commodity-money relations.

In general, comrades, we are for cost-accounting relations with leaseholders to be based on complete freedom to choose ways of marketing products. We shall inevitably come to this, sooner or later.

It is perfectly obvious that if collective and state farms and leaseholder teams have to pay their own way, this will make them produce more and better farm produce at less cost.

And then we shall get an opportunity to purchase the kinds of products we need and in the amount we need in order to shape state foodstocks.

But this is the future. A period of transition is certainly unavoidable between the present situation from which we start the advance and the times when the new economic mechanism moves into gear. Various forms, including state orders, are to be used during the period of transition.

Measures suiting the tasks of the period of transition are proposed in the documents circulated among you.

I would like to call your attention to state orders. Recognizing their necessity at the present stage, care should be taken that state orders should not turn into a veiled form of pressure methods of state purchases well-known in the past.

We are certainly for discipline of state purchases, but it should not be the discipline of mutual contract obligations with strict economic responsibility on the part of both producers and purchasing organizations.

Contracts should certainly be used on the basis of mutual interest of producers and purchasing organizations.

This being so, the following principle should be immediately registered in law: After fulfilling contractual obligations the producer markets the remaining products the way he chooses—to purchasing or trading organizations, processing enterprises, consumers' cooperative societies, at collective farm markets or in public catering.

The question, naturally, suggests itself: Why is a period of transition needed and what problems should be resolved over this period?

It is needed objectively because of the present state of the economy, finance, money circulation and the situation in the home market. It is also associated with the need for making a price reform.

We must do a great deal in all these important areas, we must change the situation for the better. As a matter of fact, this is the purpose of a radical economic reform which includes a price reform.

The existing pricing system has been shaping over decades. It has many encrustations and it suits objective economic conditions no longer.

Relations between prices in agriculture and industry are actually not improving. The gap between purchase, wholesale and retail prices has widened, which has a negative effect on the state of the economy, the financial position of collective and state farms, industrial enterprises and the whole country. Many farms are unable to ensure expanded reproduction, much less tackle their social problems without state aid.

We are faced with an objective need to create an essentially new inter-related system of purchase, wholesale and retail prices aimed at the intensification and stimulation of the production of quality products in the zones most favorable for this, at the wiping out of deficit and consolidation of cost-accounting.

The new pricing mechanism should become an effective instrument of shaping progressing ratios in production and consumption and changes in their structure, and an instrument of improving end results. This is our principled policy.

We must realize that the purposes of economic restructuring cannot be achieved, new methods of economic management cannot be introduced and a socialist market cannot be formed without a price reform, a reform of the entire price formation system.

Purchase prices must be refined considerably. Purchase prices of some kinds of quality products are so low as not to stimulate the development and rational distribution of specialized highly marketable production.

All this requires thorough economic analysis and appropriate decisions.

The documents circulated among you envisage the introduction of new purchase prices of farm produce as of January 1, 1990.

These prices are to include the operating additions. The number of pricing zones is to be reduced sharply. Production in regions with the most favorable conditions should be stimulated the most.

It is also planned to make price formation more flexible. Pricing should not be the prerogative of central agencies alone. So the range of products priced in a centralized way should be reduced.

And, conversely, there should be greater room for the use of contractual prices, particularly of early-ripening, seasonal and perishable products—potatoes, vegetables and fruit, the way it has been done of late in most socialist countries.

Experience shows that this approach will stimulate increaed output and improvement of quality.

This might certainly lead to some increae in retail prices of those products at the initial stage. In order to check their growth, the local soviets are given the right to limit retail prices of potatoes, vegetables and fruits.

As to the retail prices of such staple foodstuffs as bread, flour, cereals, meat, fish, eggs, milk, sugar, butter, vegetable oil and baby foods, their state retail prices will remain unchanged for the next two or three years.

All the sectors of our economy have switched to the use of a new mechanism, of the principles of self-repayment, self-financing and self-management. This is quite often accompanied by manifestations of group egotism, by striving to inflate prices.

In order to maintain an equivalent exchange between the agrarian sector and other spheres of the national economy it is very important to prevent inordinately high prices of industrial products.

For this purpose it is necessary to work out a parity of prices and to create a mechanism to maintain it. Appropriate control over this should be established at a governmental level and, perhaps, at a level of the supreme body of state authority.

There might be some changes in prices with the emergence of new kinds of industrial and agricultural products and improvement of their quality. But this must always be balanced and taken into consideration.

The problems of collective and state farms and processing enterprises that show little profit or are operated at a loss and the increasing of their responsibility to the country are a special theme for discussion.

This is a large problem affecting the destinies of many people and a considerable part of our agrarian sector.

Everybody agrees that there is a need for a specific approach to every such case. The experience accumulated by comrades in the Orel region can apparently come in useful to the majority of such enterprises.

Comrades in the Orel region got down to the solution of social and economic problems of rural areas, tackled the problem of raising the effectiveness of economic management and created on this basis the necessary conditions for providing personnel for the management of weak enterprises.

Many of you have witnessed for yourself the fact that the situation in the agriculture of the Orel region is changing for the better and quite promptly. One can profit from this experience.

We shall have to take a special look at the destiny of enterprises situated in highland and northern districts and in other districts with extremely unfavorable natural conditions. Considerable state aid will be needed in such cases, at least at the initial stage.

Among the enterprises that lag behind some have lost prospects for independent development. Radical measures are called for in such cases.

In some instances it would be expedient to transfer the land of these enterprises to sound collective and state farms, other enterprises, leaseholders under team or family contacts, to use the existing opportunities for the development of subsidiary industries.

I think this must be done without delay so that these problems be resolved in the interests of society in a year or two with consideration for the interests of those who work in these collective and state farms. The imperfection of financing and credit for the agrarian sector is apparent. It lags behind developments, is still overly regulated and does not stimulate enough enterprise and the taking of justified risks.

There is a need for radical restructuring of the activity of banks, particularly of the agro-industrial bank. It is necessary to ensure that they are really interested in the development of production and act as business partners.

An impetus must be given to the development of a system of cooperative banks and joint stock societies so that the economic activity of enterprises may be improved by drawing on the savings of their employees.

Relations are not good between the budget and processing enterprises.

It is known that many branches of the food industry, even the sugar industry, are in a most difficult financial situation, and have no funds for reconstruciton and normal development of the social infrastructure. Deductions from profits do not enable them to develop normally.

This situation needs to be analyzed carefuly.

We must enter the next five-year period having a smoothly operating mechanism of financial relations between enterprises and the state budget.

In this connection there is a need to speed up the working out of scientifically substantiated rates of income tax and deductions to the budget on the basis of the payment of rent. It is of principled importance to establish the procedure of supply of funds to the budgets of local soviets.

The role of budget allocations needs to be determined in conditions of self-financing. Such allocations are used in all countries. This makes it possible to maintain the financial stability of producers, particularly in extreme conditions, helps them acquire new equipment, develop new technologies, and resolve social problems.

Budget allocations also finance major programs of the development of science and production.

Both on the political and economic levels, it is impossible to avoid discussing the huge debt of collective and state farms and other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, which had formed over many years.

It would be unjustifiable to shift this burden of debt on the enterprises, as it resulted not only from shortcomings in economic activity, but also from unequivalent exchange.

This question was thoroughly discussed by the government and the Politburo of the Central Committee before the plenum. It should be noted that the present financial situation in the country, characteristic of which is a large deficit of the state budget, limits our possibilities for repaying the debt.

Still it was deemed expedient to find a solution to this problem not on the basis of a generalized approach, but with taking into account the economic position of every enterprise.

We all realize, comrades, that the restructuring of agrarian relations presupposes a radical change of management of the agro-industrial complex, frankly speaking, the elimination of the existing administrative (departmental and territorial) system of management of agriculture and the agrarian sector of the economy as a whole.

Currently, from the manageament point of view, agricultural enterprises are doubly dependnt, as it were. On the one hand, they are subordinated to higher bodies along the departmental line. They are also managed in no less, perhaps even in a greater degree, by local party and government bodies, starting from district level.

This system was formed long ago, in the times of collectivization. Local bodies rigidly controlled the entire activity of agricultural enterprises.

District authorities gave assignments to enterprises for the amount and structure of output, as regards schedules, and interfered in all economic affairs while bearing no economic responsibility for the consequences of their decisions.

Restructuring presupposes a radical change in the system of managing the agrarian sector at all levels.

On the whole a contemporary managerial system of the agro-industrial sector should be based on the general principles of our economic reform.

The point is to ensure a genuine priority of the basic economic components—farms and enterprises, a resolute transition to economic methods of management, a gradual introduction of the principles of wholesale trade, and the mastering of the levers of commodity-money relations.

A new system should also fully meet the requirements of our political reform. What I mean is first of all a transition to sovereignty of the local soviets on the territory under their jurisdiction, a steep rise in the role of work collectives, and genuine democratization of management at all levels.

Proposals which have been prepared for the plenum deal with the abolition of district agro-industrial associations. I obviously mean that such associations shall be abolished in those places where they still exist.

We proceeded from the assumption that no one should interfere in the day-to-day economic activities of collective and state farms, and still less peasant and individual small holdings.

It is also meant that farms may establish appropriate cost-accounting units, on a strictly voluntary, commercial basis and principles of mutual benefit, to perform the functions of technical repair, building and other types of servicing, transportation and marketing of products and the construction of joint enterprises or social facilities.

In the district, meetings of representatives of farms and enterprises may form a council on a democratic basis to coordinate business-like cooperation in tackling this or that matter of mutual interest. The soviet and its staff shall not be vested with administrative functions.

I think this is of basic importance, for in the final analysis complete independence of producers is the initial point of departure for all our proposals.

The work collective itself determines a pattern and character of production, decides on all practical matters, and bears full responsibility for the results of its economic activities.

In point of fact the process of the rise and development of new forms of managing the agro-industrial sector is already underway and a great diversity in approaches is manifest. This should be only welcomed.

Elective bodies have been formed democratically in almost 2,000 districts, in place of the district agro-industrial association's administrative apparatus, on the strength of the free expression of the will of work collectives.

We should heed the experience of the operation of agro-complexes, agro-firms and associations. There are already more than 300 of them in the country now, with 110 being cooperative agro-industrial associations.

I think any pressure regarding the choice of managerial forms should be ruled out. With all their diversity, a common feature of all of them should be independence and self-management, economic methods of guidance over economic activities, the developed nature of cooperative principles, the establishment of integration ties in production, processing and marketing.

Proposals concerning regional, territorial and republican levels of management set out in the documents also accord in the main with the tasks which arise from the radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

Actually, in this case we also rely on the experience which has already been gained. I mean that new forms of managing the agro-industrial sector are also winning their way at regional level.

Economic units established in grassroots initiative are taking the place of the agro-industrial sector's managerial bodies vested with directive functions.

Their functions are also radically different. The purpose of their activities is to give real assistance in tackling matters which go beyond the jurisdiction of district units and require coordination at a higher level.

In this connection there quite naturally arises the question that we should tackle in a new way the issue of the nature of the relationships between the soviets and their executive bodies. On the one hand are new agrarian units at district, regional and territorial levels, on the other, at the next stage of the political reform.

Now that a law on local self-management and the local economy is being prepared, the entire spectrum of these matters should be thoroughly thought out with an eye to the fact that the status of the soviets themselves will change. The economic situation in the countryside as a whole will also cardinally change. New relations should consequently be worked out.

Issues concerning the management of the agro-industrial sector at the level of the union republics should be considered within the context of the already prepared and published draft document on general principles for restructuring the managment of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics through extending their sovereign rights, through self-management and self-financing.

In principle this is a question of extending the rights of the union republics in solving all problems of the agro-industrial sector and enhancing their responsibility for the provision of their populations with food.

But in this case as well the functions of appropriate bodies should take into account the essence of radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

This means that at republican level the managerial bodies connected with the agro-industrial sector may not interfere in the economic activities of collective and state farms or other enterprises of the agro-industrial sector.

Republican agro-industrial sectors should tackle their tasks on the basis of economic approaches and utilization of economic methods of regulating processes.

As far as management at all-union level is concerned, this question was also the subject of the most thorough consideration.

This led to the formulation of proposals on abolishing the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and on setting up a state commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for food and purchases as a permanently functioning body.

This step is in keeping with our commitment to raise the government's role in the solution of key economic problems, its responsibility for developing the agro-industrial complex and improving the country's food supply.

Comrades, restructuring economic relations in the countryside gives us a real chance to get down in practice to the solution of the task that has seriously troubled us in recent years and which we have essentially failed to get moving. I have in mind the effective use of the potential we have created in the agrarian sector.

Indeed, 884 billion rubles of capital investments were channelled to agriculture between 1961-1988. Today, the agro-industrial complex has tremendous production assets: About 360 billion rubles in agriculture and 68 billion rubles in the processing industry.

Per capita power consumption in the countryside, deliveries of machinery and fertilizers to agriculture have increased approximately 1.5-fold during the past ten years.

But, as I have already said, we still do not get the necessary returns from this huge potential. Farm products are becoming more expensive due to this, while the yield per unit of assets and profitability remain low.

This is direct evidence that we have a wasteful economy with all its negative, socially ruinous consequences.

I am convinced that all out efforts to go over to new economic forms of management will allow us to achieve, and rather quickly, for that matter, quite notable results in agricultural production and in the agro-industrial complex as a whole with the available means and technical facilities.

This is precisely the conclusion that we should draw on the basis of an overall analysis. We must proceed from this in our practical work immediately.

But, on the other hand, restructuring of production relations in the countryside, and we are in a position to assert this with confidence, will demand new machinery and involve the use of progressive technologies.

We can forecast for sure that new forms of economic management will bring more pressure to bear on sectors supplying agriculture with machinery and other resources.

The primary task requiring urgent solution is to develop machine systems for land cultivation and livestock breeding so that we could complete agriculture's comprehensive mechanization within the next few years and make farm labor more productive, more creative and attractive.

Particularly pressing today are problems of mechanizing vegetable, sugar-beet, cotton and flax growing.

Mechanization of livestock farms, above all small ones, is also below par. Manual labor accounts for more than 80 percent of the work done there.

There are not enough machines for fodder-making, cultivation of household plots, highland and small fields, which now add up to more than thirty million hectares.

For many past years we have merely recorded the low efficiency of our material and technical facilities in the processing industry, have passed corresponding decisions, but no changes for the better occurred.

The network of processing enterprises is unable to cope even with the present level of agricultural production in all regions of the country. And we intend to boost it.

It is not only a matter of this network's under- development, comrades, but of its low technical standards, shortage of up-to-date technological equipment for thoroughly processing, parcelling and packing farm products.

Now we have finally drawn up, I resume, a realistic program for modernizing the processing industry. As much as 77 billion rubles in capital investments have been allocated for the purpose.

Not only the civilian machine-building industry, but also individual sectors of the defense industry, are involved in this program. Cooperation with socialist and capitalist countries is growing.

Things have begun to move and our efforts are gaining momentum. There is now confidence that these tasks can be solved effectively in the foreseeable future. But no little concerted efforts should be exerted for this purpose by clients, designers and machine-builders.

In the meantime, only 78 percent of capital investments were used in the period from 1986 to 1988, even at enterprises using imported complete plant [phrase as received].

We all know how pressing is the problem of food supply in such major industrial centers as Krasnoyarsk, Novokuznetsk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk and Yaroslavl.

But there too the attitude to processing industry projects cannot be described as anything but outrageous. Where are the local soviets? Where are the party organizations and Communist-managers?

No, comrades, we shall not be able to make much progress if we act in this way. In setting the task of further increasing the output of machinery, moreover of the most diverse types—for land cultivation and livestock- breeding, for the processing industry, for leaseholders and cooperators, for private subsidiary holdings and for the conditions of different zones of the country—we must raise very sharply the question of the quality and dependability of our machinery, equipment and other means of production.

Workers of the agrarian sector rightly complain that the machine-builders, abusing their monopoly status, often foist upon them outdated models of expensive machines with low dependability and efficiency standards. This is ruinous not only for agriculture, but for the country as a whole.

After all, we are dealing here with a production sector of huge dimensions, employing large collectives, possessing large output capacities, consuming much metal, fuel and electric power. And all this is devaluated in large measure by the low-quality machinery it turns out.

Poor quality machines compel agriculture to set up expensive repair services, now employing over one million people, that is more than the entire farm machine-building industry. No other country tolerates such wastefulness.

We produce more tractors than any other country in the world and yet complaints about their short supply are common. That's no good at all and is a direct result of the backward pattern of production and the low quality of machines.

Their manufacturers often explain frequent machinery breakdowns on collective and state farms by the low professional standards of farm workers and inadequate maintenance and repair services. I think that this is partly true.

But, comrades, even advanced farms with skilled personnel and adequate repair facilities have just as many complaints about machine quality.

Can we continue putting up with the fact that Soviet-built machinery is in many respects inferior to comparable foreign models? Providing the agrarian sector with machines means today primarily improving their quality and making them more reliable.

Obviously, the government, its bureau for machine-building, and the state planning agency should study this highly important state problem thoroughly, together with scientists, specialists, and machine manufacturers and users, and find a solution.

Further structural and qualitative changes to technological policy are indispensable. Machine-builders should be put in such economic conditions that would rule out the manufacture of shoddy equipment.

Experience demonstrates that wholesale trade is an effective means against the forcing of unnecessary and worthless machines on users and against the monopoly of manufacturers. This kind of trade fits in with the new economic relations in the best possible way.

Speaking of the need to put the agro-industrial sector on a modern footing, one cannot bypass the issue of losses during the harvesting, transportation, storage and processing of farm produce.

Our losses in grain harvesting and pre-storage treatment amount to 15 and even 20 million tonnes. About as much is lost in storage and processing. In all, comrades, the losses equal our purchases abroad.

Due to the sparsity of meat packing plants, their low technological standards, and inefficient use of raw materials, meat losses, even according to the lowest estimates, add up to around one million tonnes, this despite the acute shortage of foodstuffs. Such is the dimension of the problem.

Stressing the importance of a modern foundation for the processing industry, it should be borne in mind that many problems stem from the methods of economic management, people's attitude to work and their poor motivation to achieve better end results.

If people were put in different economic conditions, they would not tolerate the losses, mismanagement and waste. So this task must be solved too.

Comrades, now that we are overhauling economic relations in the countryside, a favorable situation is being created to blend agriculture with the scientific and technological revolution and ensure transition to new technologies and active use of the latest achievements in biotechnology, breeding and agrochemistry and of everything that should boost productivity on the farms.

What does world experience tell us? The substantial success of many countries in building up food stocks has to a considerable degree been due to their taking advantage of scientific and technological progress, to what has come to be known as the green revolution.

The need to pay closer attention to scientific advances is dictated also by the specific natural conditions in which we practice agriculture.

But for a few exceptions, these conditions can't be described as particularly favorable. But we won't be able to change the weather and climatic conditions.

So it is essential to learn to act in the real situation and keep the nation steadily supplied with food even in the leanest years.

Why is the example of go-ahead farms important? It is important because it convinces one of the need to combine the latest in science and technology with the new methods of economic management and worker incentives.

In short, science should become part of the cardinal transformation of economic relations and the material basis of the agrarian sector.

The role of science today should be different and its interaction with enterprises based on mutual interest and economic accounting.

I think that this is what we lack. We are just beating about the bush. The idea of science for the sake of science, riding roughshod over practical needs such as to raise production efficiency, has proved too tenacious.

While speaking about all this, I don't want to belittle the significance of work by leading agrarian scientists in any way. But their contribution would be far more tangible and effective if research centers are able to form direct ties with producers on a wide scale.

This is why I shall stress once more: The key issue in this field is the transfer of research organizations to cost accounting and the contract system.

Like all others, scientific institutions should themselves have to earn the money to finance their development and increase incentives for research and for scientists. This will put everything in its place right away, show who is who, and bring quick and palpable returns.

This will demand, of course, that scientific organizations decisively reorganize their work and give priority to research helping to solve the food problem.

I think that much can be done in this respect by science-and-production amalgamations and by production and science- and-production systems.

But this, too, will require a good deal of reorganization, comrades, and our agrarian science is entitled to count on the understanding and support of party, local government and economic agencies, especially when it comes to its provision with materials, equipment and facilities.

Life has also posed new tasks for social scientists. It is imperative to study the problems of property, the cooperative movement, leaseholding, commodity-money relations, and the interests of different social groups.

Economic and social forecasting is effectively a blank spot. The rules governing structural changes, proportions and balances have not been investigated sufficiently.

Overall, I think that our science, at the stage of restructuring, needs to move from the first stage to the second, and the sooner the better. Today, comrades, society has joined actively addressing ecological problems. This public activity should be welcomed and encouraged in every way.

Every economic decision must indeed be scientifically valid and carefully considered. No other way is acceptable.

We should act in precisely this manner when deciding questions concerning the development of agriculture and the agro-industrial sector and take care that economic activity ease ecological tension and solve related problems rather than harming the environment.

There have been many, and often very emotional, debates lately on the pros and cons of land reclamation. There are more than enough reasons why this issue has become so sharp: There have been quite a few mistakes in designing and building irrigation projects.

In addition, reclaimed lands are sometimes put to inefficient use and a sizable part has simply fell out of agricultural use—irretrievably.

But it would be wrong to conclude that land reclamation is unacceptable as such. The natural conditions in which we conduct farming are hard: So in some cases we won't be able to do without irrigation, while in others without drainage.

The entire historical experience shows that land reclamation, most notably irrigation, in many countries is the decisive condition of stable and guaranteed agricultural harvests.

Land improvement is pursued on a large scale in the United States— which by comparison with us has a potential 2 to 2 ½ times greater than ours— China, India, European countries and, in point of fact, everywhere. The total area of irrigated lands in the world, according to estimates by international organizations, amounts to more than 200 million hectares today.

So the question is not one of abandoning land reclamation but of practicing it without harming nature, spoiling the soil or squandering public funds.

The situation in many of our regions has been the opposite: Billions of rubles have been spent without adequate returns. In a number of cases serious ecological damage has been done.

I think we should analyze the state of affairs carefully and work out clear-cut and scientifically sound recommendations.

But it is already clear that what must be done as a matter of urgency is putting reclaimed lands in proper order and taking necessary measures to put land and water to more rational use. Efforts to come to grips with ecological problems that have piled up should not be put off either.

The situation concerning the use of chemicals is similar in many respects. Why so?

The reason is the same: Disregard for technical and technological solutions which would exclude the negative environmental impact of both the production of chemicals and their use. What is needed in this field, too, is thinking carefuly before making decisions.

We can by no means manage without chemicals today. But we should decisively raise the standards and increase accountability when it comes to using chemicals, to their production, transportation, and storage, and especially to their application to the soil. Besides, our personnel often lack the required qualifications. All this should be put right competently and fast.

There is also one more thing: For a number of reasons we have stopped valuing land as we should.

In most regions soil fertility is declining. Large areas suffer from desertification, wind and water erosion. Tracts of land with saline and acidic soil are expanding in many areas.

We may no longer mistreat land in this way, comrades. The time has come to prepare and endorse a law on land and its utilization. We should enhance our legislative measures to protect farmland against wasteful use.

But this is not enough. We should pay more attention to scientifically substantiated methods of cultivating land, crop rotation and soil-protecting technologies. This is a direct duty of all those using land.

The awareness of the complexity and importance of ecological problems has led us to recognize the need for a national ecological program which will help us to solve the accumulated problems and initiate new approaches in dealing with economic tasks.

It is important to prepare it thoroughly, on a broad democratic basis, in conditions of glasnost and with the participation of the public, practical workers and scientists.

A few words are in order about investment policy. A new situation is shaping in this sphere.

Time has come to adjust investment policy so that it will reflect the real development needs of the agrarian sector, help to break bottlenecks, and ensure the proportional development of both production capabilities and social amenities.

The draft documents handed out to you suggest directing capital investments primarily to raising the technological standard of agriculture, radically refurbishing the processing industry as well as transportation and storage facilities, and drastically cutting losses.

We must ensure a balanced development of the entire production-transportation-storage-processing-marketing-consumption cycle involving farm produce.

Such a structure of capital investments will make it possible to yield a greater effect with less spending, above all due to cuts in losses and more efficient processing.

In the 13th Five-Year Plan, it is planned to increase the output of foodstuffs by 26-30 percent, while the output of farm produce will grow by 16 percent.

The contemporary investment policy should also take into account another aspect: A considerable change of the financing source.

Earlier, capital investments mainly were allocated from above and distributed from the center to regions in accordance with goals of the agrarian sector's development, while now necessary resources must be earned above all by production collectives.

We can no longer so strictly regulate proportions of capital investments as the situation in each region, even at each farm, is different. Farms should themselves decide how and for what purposes to use capital investments.

In one case, the emphasis should be laid on road construction, in another on the processing, and in a third on the social sphere.

I think such a formulation of the issue is justified and meets the policy of developing independence and decentralization in economic decision-making.

It is now necessary to be concerned with creating the necessary resource base for investments so that production collectives can use their funds to buy the necessary machines, equipment, and other resources. This really is the aim of the measure contained in the documents that have been handed out to you.

Now, comrades, I move on to a very sore and acute subject which concerns the every-day life of our rural areas: the social reform of the countryside.

I must admit that the resources spent for this purpose have not made it possible to overcome the village's considerable chronic lagging behind the town.

Rural areas are in a much worse position as regards medical, trade, cultural and communal services, and the amount of house equipment per unit of floorspace there is 2 to 5 times less than in cities.

The peasant mode of life has lost its attractiveness and prestige. People, above all the young, are leaving villages. Migration from the countryside has for years surpassed the rural population growth.

The death rates among able-bodied people in villages are 20 percent, and among children 50 percent, higher than in cities.

Mistakes in the distribution of productive forces, specifically the priority construction of ever new industrial facilities in major cities, did great damage to villages.

Things reached a point when even the processing of farm produce, which is directly linked with its raw material base, began to be developed in industrial centers.

Small dairy factories, brickworks, bakeries and other vital facilities disappeared from villages. In the last few decades, village primary schools, medical institutions and shops were hastily closed.

The disregard for the needs of villages and the hypertrophied urban development brought about great social distortions and complicated the normal economic functioning of whole regions.

As a result, the sphere of application of villagers' work narrowed, and villages continued to lose their already scanty labor resources. In the long run, this caused extra strain in cities, too, and had a negative effect on the situation in the countryside and on food supplies.

What is most alarming is that social development plans for villages are apparently understated despite the difficult situation there.

In word everyone advocates fast social reform in the countryside, and in deed one can see inertia and, let's say frankly, irresponsibility and indifference displayed.

Comrades, a draft resolution mapping out measures to accelerate the social development of villages is being submitted for your consideration.

The main priorities have been given to housing construction and the provision of villages with communal services and amenities.

We're facing the tasks of creating up-to-date facilities for rural house building, attracting on a large scale urban construction workers, and developing housing construction with the use of local resources and individual construction.

The rates of house building in villages in the 13th Five-Year Plan must at least be doubled. We must proceed from this task. Otherwise, the solution of this task will be foiled.

We'll also have to launch large-scale work to provide villages with heating, gas-, water- and electricity-supply systems.

Villagers justly raise the issue why rural areas have been put on short rations and why peasants have been left to struggle with their problems alone, although the country has vast resources.

In fact, we need a fundamentally new approach to the task of providing villages with amenities. The majority of developed countries solve these issues with the help of autonomous life-support systems. So we must closely examine all these things.

We must take a fresh look at rural houses and farmsteads and, above all, lift all restrictions concerning the size of structures, the number of stories in them, and their architecture.

Let people build houses the way they like. A beautiful, well-built and convenient house will become a real home for many generations of villagers. Such houses will transform villages.

One of the immediate tasks is the construction of roads. We proceeded from this when drafting new plans.

The draft plan for 1991-1995 set the task of building 226,000 kilometers of hard-surface roads at farms alone, and also connecting all central farmsteads of collective and state farms with rayon centers by roads, and establishing regular transport communication.

Earlier, a special program for the radical improvement of road building in the Non-Chernozem earth zone of the Russian Federation was adopted. More than 35 million rubles in capital investments were allocated for these purposes.

The social transformation of villages includes a large-scale construction of schools, hospitals, cultural, sports and trading facilities, and the provision of villages with communal services.

Seasonal unemployment can be largely relieved by developing subsidiary production and crafts and by opening branches of industrial enterprises, especially those producing consumer goods.

The radical improvement of working and living conditions for women in the countryside, who work both in society and in the home, is a matter of state importance.

All this has to be done, without delay and on a large scale.

During preparations for the plenary meeting secretaries of rural rayon party committees and heads of collective and state farms raised, as a matter of urgency, the question of improving collective farmers' social security and pensions. Work to elaborate a draft of the new law on pensions is now nearing completion. This law should involve a fair answer to these questions.

The fate of depopulated areas and of those territories where efforts to stem the migration processes have so far failed is the subject of particular concern. We will probably require a purposeful state program here, which would stimulate working people's movement from other areas and create the necessary conditions for normal life in the new place.

Certainly, you will have paid attention to specific proposals made on this score in the drafts. They also include such matters as building well-appointed apartments and houses with their subsequent sale to people on easy terms, encouraging the costruction of one's own houses, allotting materials and soft credits for this, lump sum payments for farm development and free provision of cattle and poultry to the new arrivals.

The issue to secure housing in cities for those who decided to work in farms has been raised. This is also worth discussing.

It seems that this approach will find a response from residents of cities and villages, especially in those regions where there is a surplus of labor.

Such a promising and purposeful program of social transformations in the village will call for enormous efforts by the entire society as well as the attention and persistent work of party organizations and soviets of people's deputies.

So, comrades, there are measures for your discussion, which envisage a fundamental change of direction in the CPSU's agrarian policy. At issue are large-scale political and socio-economic transformations which are in the vital interests of the village and the city, peasants, workers, intellectuals—in other words, the interests of the entire society.

The country faces thorough changes in the village. It would be naive to think that they can be effected simply and easily as if mechanically.

No, they will require much intensive and patient work both in clarifying the meaning and significance of the new agrarian policy, in decisively re-orientating our personnel, and in fundamentally altering methods and approaches in the activity of party, government and economic bodies.

Totally abandoning power and pressure methods and the artificial acceleration of restructuring in villages are the foremost political features of this work. We will commit a serious mistake if we rely, if only to a small degree, on administrative fiat. This style of management has totally discredited itself and brought about crisis phenomena in the agrarian sector and the current food supply situation.

The consistent reshaping of economic relations in the village, independent economic management, diversity of forms which free man's initiative should be the points of departure in the new policy. Certainly, this should be accompanied by unflagging attention to scientific-technical progress, the peasant's working and living conditions, and to the social transformation of the village.

The task of party organizations is to exercise leadership without issuing commands, act through efficient work with the people, getting them to become aware of the need for changes, and enhancing confidence that it is they and they alone who can and should decide their destiny. This will also help tackle economic problems, and will be the next step in the democratic development of Soviet society.

The new agrarian policy should have a sound legal foundation so that collective farmers, workers of state farms and other enterprises, members of cooperatives, leaseholders, and all workers in the agro-industrial complex can be confident in the stable and long-term nature of the new policy.

We have serious political, social, economic, organizational, and cultural-educational problems here, which must be interpreted and acted upon.

The question prompts itself: What shall we begin with, what shall we get down to in the first place? I think we would have acted rashly if we began giving recipes for all scenarios here, at the plenary meeting.

The implementation of the new agrarian policy will take place in the specific conditions of one or another region, oblast, rayon, or farm which require specific situations.

Some collectives have already gained experience of work on the basis of cost-accounting, use of family contract and forms of leasing. Others are only starting to handle new tasks.

The situation is totally different in loss-making farms, in depopulated villages facing an acute shortage of personnel.

Nevertheless, one can probably advise all party organizations and work collectives that they should gather together and thoroughly discuss the basic provisions of the new agrarian policy and documents of the plenum and choose forms of economic management with due account for local conditions.

It is obvious how great and indispensable in this is the role of party organizations.

In implementing the new agrarian policy, the party committees should reveal the modern content of party work, their style and methods of activity. They should convince people of the advantages of new forms of economic management.

In brief, it is necessary to act on the basis of the broadest democratism. There is no alternative.

Time will be required to properly comprehend the proposed policy. It is important not to make haste and avoid hurried judgements and shallow conclusions.

And, surely, one should not sink into panic and confusion in the face of unusual situations, extraordinary and profound changes.

One should not rule out resistance to things new, due to old habits, dogmatic thinking, established styles of work and a way of life formed over decades.

So, we also cannot manage without a serious restructuring in the mentality of rural workers, including managerial staff.

It is no less important that new functions of Soviets of People's deputies at all levels be fully developed in implementing the party's new agrarian policy. Their interrelationship with agrarian entities and rural workers should rest on a solid legal, normative basis.

Soviets have an indispensable role to play in everything from concern for more rational uses of land and other natural resources to protection for leaseholders' rights and the development of social and cultural services in the countryside. There new possibilities enable them to be more effective in securing better food supplies to the population.

The assimilation and creative use of experience is a powerful and effective lever for rebuilding economic relations in the countryside.

The new policy should impel party and soviet workers, the mass media and, of course, scientific establishments to study innovation in agriculture in the most careful manner and to make them available to the wide masses.

The new agrarian policy sets as an exceptionally pressing task the mastering by cadres of economic knowledge and the ability to make active use of forms and methods of financial autonomy as well as to act independently and in an interprising manner.

I think we should become fully aware also of the following aspect of practical work. Realizing the agrarian policy will require great effort not only on the part of rural workers—although they will have to bear the brunt of the work—but also the rest of the nation.

Machine-builders and workers in the chemical, construction, fuel-and-power industries and, in effect, all other economic sectors should contribute to the nationwide effort.

It is essential first of all to fill the agrarian sector's orders on time and with a high degree of quality in order to give real help, acting on contractual terms, to the social transformation of the village.

All groups of soviet intellectuals—teachers, physicians, scientists and design and planning organizations—our whole creative intelligentsia—have a great role to play in rural development.

As I said already, an integral part of the new agrarian policy is the sharply increased role and accountability of rayons, okrugs, oblats, krays, and republics in solving the food supply issue. I shall repeat that we must act decisively to overcome dependency in this respect.

The main thing is for the officials in positions of responsibility to realize the new situation and the new tasks facing them.

There are reserves for improving local supplies in every area, comrades. The problem is that they are not being used in the same way everywhere.

In some regions, they have been able, even in the current economic situation, to organize work efficiently enough to both meet their supply commitments to central procurement agencies and substantially improve local food supplies.

This can be said not of just two or three oblasts. Changes of this kind have taken place in the central Non-Chernozem zone of Russia, the northern Caucasus and several oblasts in the Volga area, Siberia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan.

Regrettably, a different attitude to the food issue and to rural development in general can also be encountered.

In the Chelyabinsk oblast with its vast land resources, for example, economic development has been so heavily unbalanced that the agrarian sector is now simply in a state of neglect.

Or take the very rich Gorkiy and Kuibyshev regions with their great potential to grow most diverse produce.

However, this potential has been used extremely poorly and the two regions experience serious difficulties with food supplies.

The Perm, Kemerovo and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts have used their reserves to become self-sufficient in dairy products.

The new agrarian policy should begin to be realized by restructuring the views and thinking of party, soviet, and economic cadres and overcoming the parasitic mentality which, as we see, has very deep roots. I would say this: there can be no place for the psychology of dependency in the new agrarian policy.

Comrades, our society is experiencing deep, qualitative changes. Restructuring is gathering force and gaining its own potential which is already manifesting itself and which will inevitably exercise an increasingly perceptible influence on the social, economic, and spiritual development of Soviet society.

The renewal process has organically included economic and political reform and now also reform in agrarian relations.

The tasks facing us are truly immense. It will take enormous effort on the part of the whole party and the entire nation to solve them. There are still many summits to be scaled.

All of us should be prepared for hard work which the party has consciously undertaken. We now need to go forward without stopping halfway and look at life realistically, honestly and openly. This is what we need to do now.

But the main thing is to keep stubbornly marching on, matching every step with the interests of our great people, the interests of socialism.

Reportage on CPSU Central Committee Plenum

Gorbachev Opens Plenum

LD1503165689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began its work today in the Kremlin. The plenum was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said, in part:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Comrades, I would like to say first that this plenum of ours is an expanded one. Taking part in its work are first secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, of kraykoms and obkoms, second secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties, chairmen of the presidiums of the supreme soviets and of the councils of ministers of the union republics, ministers and leaders of central departments and organizations, and commanders of the military okrugs who are not members of the central organs of the CPSU. We provide for this with earlier decisions. Present at the plenum are also candidate people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU and members of the electoral commission for the election of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU who are not members of the CPSU Central Committee. Are there no remarks or questions on this section? Good.

The agenda. Two issues are being submitted for consideration. The first is on holding the election of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU, and the second issue is that of the party's agrarian policy in contemporary conditions. What remarks are there on the agenda? It is as if we had arranged everything in advance! Are there no remarks? Additions? Good. We will take it as adopted.

Now on the procedure for the plenum. It is worthwhile saying something about this, too. This morning—election to be held of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU. In the afternoon—we are taking 1500 as a reference point, but time will tell—examination to begin of the second issue and discussion of it to continue tomorrow. Workers of the agro-industrial complex from the localities have been invited to participate in the examination of the second issue, whose participation—with the plenum's agreement—will begin at 1500, in the second issue. It is a small group, but nevertheless the group represents our agro-industrial sector and rural party organizations of cadres. Is this procedure acceptable, comrades? Are there no remarks, comrades? None. Agreed.

Let us pass on to examination of the first issue: the election of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU. [end recording]

[Announcer] Before the beginning of the election Comrade Koptyug, chairman of the Electoral Commission for the election of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU, delivered a report. [passage omitted summarizing Koptyug report] [video shows Gorbachev and other leaders entering hall, Gorbachev addressing plenum, leaders seated on platform, Koptyug addressing plenum. Leaders are shown in a panning shot left to right on screen as follows: Chebrikov, Vorotnikov, Shcherbitskiy, Zaykov, Ligachev, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Slyunkov, Nikonov, Medvedev]

25 Absent With Reason

LD1503210189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began its work today in the Kremlin. The plenum was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] There are 286 members of the Central Committee, 150 candidate members of the Central Committee, and 81 members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU here to take part in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. There are 25 comrades absent for valid reasons. I think we can start work, if there are no objections. No ojections? The plenum is declared open. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Plenum Information Report

PM1603112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

["Information Report on CPSU Central Committee Plenum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] A routine CPSU Central Committee Plenum began its work 15 March 1989. The following questions were submitted for the plenum's examination:

1. On the election of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU.

2. On the party's agrarian policy under contemporary conditions.

Candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU attended the plenum.

V.A. Koptyug, chairman of the electoral commission for elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU, delivered a report on the first question. It is published in the press.

Then there was a ballot in which the following took part: members of the CPSU Central Committee; candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee; members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; and also first secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, second secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees, chairmen of union republic supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers, ministers, and military district commanders who do not belong to central organs of the CPSU but who are members of other elective party organs.

As a result of the secret ballot all the candidates were elected USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

The plenum adopted a resolution on instructions to the USSR people's deputies from the CPSU; it will be published in the press.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report on the question of the party's agrarian policy under contemporary conditions. A group of rural raykom secretaries, kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, leaseholders, scientists, and other workers in the agro-industrial complex were invited to the plenum to take part in the discussion of this question.

The plenum participants had been given the opportunity to familiarize themselves in advance with draft documents on questions of the party's agrarian policy prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the basis of the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum will continue its work 16 March.

Letters Criticize Party Candidates

LD1503195489 Mocow TASS in English 1850 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

As the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee was considering the issue of choosing party representatives to the nation's supreme body of state authority, the chairman of the Electoral Commission, Valentin Koptyug, made public suggestions and critical remarks received during the election campaign.

He said that letters and excerpts of resolutions adopted at meetings expressed personal support for the majority of the candidates.

At the same time, there were many critical remarks. Despite the fact that they are largely of a subjective nature, the Electoral Commission decided to bring them to the notice of the plenum's participants.

Dwelling, specifically, on personal remarks with regard to the candidatures of party leaders, Koptyug said that three letters expressed critical remarks regarding the candidature of General Secretary of the Party Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

The party leader was blamed for the current situation in the country because he was a member of the party leadership in the years preceding the perestroyka, or restructuring, drive.

Nine letters criticised Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Lev Zaykov, who leads the Moscow party organisation, mostly over the state of social services in the city.

Twenty-five letters voiced disagrement with some ideas voiced by Central Committee secretary and politburo member Yegor Ligachev at the 19th national party conference last summer.

Two letters disagreed with Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev on some issues of progress along the path of democratisation and the role of market relations.

Some ideas expressed by Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov on economic issues during his recent visit to Lithuania were also challenged.

Without offering any (?arguments), several letters objected to the election of Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Viktor Nikonov to serve on the parliament.

Criticisms were also made against Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Vadim Medvedev over a number of aspects of the ideological situation in the country.

The letters expressed dissatisfaction with several acts enacted by the Presidium of the national legislature and voiced complaints in this connection about Central Committee Secretary and alternate Politburo member Georgiy Razumovskiy as chairman of the Commission of Legislative Proposals at the Council of the Union, which is one of the two parliamentary houses.

Koptyug also reported criticisms regarding candidates who are not among leading party officials.

As a result of a secret ballot, all the 100 party candidates, however, won the required majority of votes and were elected to parliament.

Gorbachev Interviewed, Shown Voting

LD1503175689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Video report on election of CPSU candidates, including interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by television correspondent Tikhomirov from Kremlin on 15 March; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Tikhomirov, identified from screen caption] And so, this morning, on 15 March 1989, for the first time in the history of the party, members of the Central Committee, candidate members of the Central Committee, members of the Central Auditing Commission, participants in the plenum, and representatives of electoral and party bodies from various parts of the country set about the procedure of voting for candidates of the CPSU.

Having received the voting papers, the voters went down to the foyer where booths and ballot boxes for secret voting were set up. [video shows delegates in foyer, then Tikhomirov speaking with Gorbachev].

Mikhail Sergeyevich, after many decades, it is the first time that elections are taking place, so that each of the candidates finds himself doubting whether he will be elected or not. So how do you youself feel in this respect just now?

[Gorbachev] The same as all the candidates.

[Tikhomirov] I personally, just as millions of people, think that nevertheless—and perhaps it isn't quite democratic to speak thus—but the main mandate is yours. And that the voting....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I accept this with satisfaction inasmuch as in such cases I reckon—not from a position of personal ambitions—but I see in this, when I hear such words, support for what we are doing. And we are undertaking a great task, an enormous task and difficult task; a task that is necessary for the people. So, of course, when at this time we feel each other's support, and we understand each other better, then that means a great deal, a great deal. Especially since rstructuring has thrown up so much that is new.

I would say that the most important thing which is happening and what distinguishes the present stage of restructuring is that restructuring is facing the trials of life. I think that everything which is taking place today gives us the right to assert that we are on the right track, and that our choice is correct. Even when questions arise among our people, and these questions are heard in the press about some individual problems or other. Sometimes we even turn out to have been mistaken in something or other; that doesn't detract from the main thing, which is that we are on the right track.

Our people now—and I feel this more and more—you remember Krasnoyarsk; it began with Krasnoyarsk, perhaps, then in Moscow, and in other places; and the last trip to the Ukraine confirms that people are now decisively in favor of work, of practical work. It is a time of action, deeds, practical deeds. People are therefore starting to react more and more sharply when, as far as this or that worker or this or that person is concerned, everything relating to restructuring boils down to talking about it. No, everything is clear: Now the most important thing is action.

[Tikhomirov] But even during this preelection campaign it was notable that everything has changed. I myself attended a constituency meeting as an agent, and the meeting lasted from 1600 to 0500.

[Gorbchev] You are right, a great deal has changed. I think that the new electoral law and the electoral campaign will lead us to gaining a good corps of deputies. But if you ask me whether everything is aceptable and everything which we planned had been borne out, then no, we see that there are shortcomings. As for what; well, we see that there are shortcomings in the conduct of the economic reform; there are shortcomings in the conduct of the political reform too. This is probably unavoidable. The main thing is that we were not mistaken in choosing the main direction. And in this sense, these elections confirm that we are on the right track.

The new Supreme Soviet will consider this campaign and will draw lessons. But already what we are seeing, what has taken place, what roused our people from a state of apathy, the fact that people have experienced interest in the election campaign—that is a great gain of the new electoral law.

[Tikhomirov] Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich. We will await the results. [video shows delegates, including Ivanovskiy, queuing for ballot papers, Gorbachev talking to (?Dubinin) descending staircase; Gorbachev casting his vote; Ryzhkov casting his vote; other delegates voting; video interview with Gorbachev in foyer with other delegates in background. Among those seen in the background is Akhromeyev]

Jan Plenum Abstention on Ligachev Noted

LD1603014789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2255 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 15 March (TASS)—Elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU took place today at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Prior to the elections, a report was delivered by Valentin Koptyug, chairman of the CPSU Electoral Commission. [passage omitted]

It ought to be noted, the speaker stressed, that the election campaign is notable for new approaches at all levels where it has been held. More than 105,000 party organizations took part in drawing up proposals for candidatures at the stage that preceded the nomination. They proposed 31,500 candidatures for the examination of higher party committees. More than 12,000 telegrams, letters, and extracts from the decisions of meetings went directly to the CPSU Central Committee. The January Central Committee Plenum, as is known, nominated 100 candidates from the 312 proposed for discussion.

You know that every candidature at the plenum was voted for unanimously. There was one abstention only for the candidature of Comrade Ligachev. All the others were voted for unanimously. [passage omitted]

Debates on Gorbachev Report Begin

LD1603073189 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee today began debates on Mikhail Gorbachev's report on the party's agrarian policy.

The Soviet leader made the report on Wednesday, the first day of the plenum.

The report outlined ways of resolving the most important social task of removing the acute food problem and secure food production in the first half of the 1990s in the quantity and variety sufficient for steady supplies.

Taking part in the plenum are heads of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, territorial and regional party committees, chairmen of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets (Parliaments) and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the union republics, ministers and heads of central departments and organisations, commanders of military districts.

A big group of secretaries of district party committees, farm managers, lease-holders, scientists and other workers of the agro-industrial complex have been invited for the discussion of agrarian issues.

Gorbachev's Main Theses Supported

LD1603100789 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 16—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Speakers at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee have voiced support for the main theses of Mikhail Gorbachev's report on the CPSU's agrarian policy.

This is illustrated by discussions in the Thursday morning session. The plenum participants shared the concern, expressed in the report, over the strained food supply situation, agreed on the whole with the analysis of the causes of the current state of affairs in agriculture, and unanimously supported Gorbachev's thesis that it would be wrong, on the strength of current difficulties, to draw conclusions about the inefficiency of the collective farm system.

Speakers expressed firm support for the radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside in order to give peasants ample opportunity to show independence, enterprise and initiative. A variety of forms of management and cost-accounting relations is essential for that, speakers maintained. Many associated the future of the countryside with lease arrangements.

Vladimir Potapov, first secretary of the party's Irkutsk Regional Committee in eastern Siberia, supported the evaluation of the role of lease arrangements set out in the report. He cited figures which prove that lease relationships made it possible to increase the production of food in the region. Last year lease-holding collectives turned out about a quarter of all farm products. Many more such collectives have been organised this year.

Without denying the role of lease arrangements Yefrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussia Communist Party's Central Committee, drew attention to the fact that the report had mentioned the need to develop agriculture through a diversity of ownership forms. Each form, he said, should develop depending on the specific natural and economic conditions of this or that region and local traditions.

Belorussia, in particular, counts on industrial technologies in livestock breeding. Labour expenditure per unit of output is 66.7-75 per cent less in large farms as compared with ordinary ones. The organisation of labour is being basically changed, which draws well-trained young people to the farms. There are already more than 300 up-to-date well-appointed settlements built near livestock breeding enterprises in the republic. Living conditions in them, the speaker said, are up to and in many cases even better than in towns.

TASS Analyst Comments on Agrarian Plenum

LD1503235689 Moscow TASS in English 2341 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

Soviet Communist Party founder Vladimir Lenin's revolutionary slogan "Land to the Peasants" is making a comeback as the linchpin of the party's agrarian policy which, in its turn, is becoming the priority area of the state's activity, part of the revolutionary restructuring being implemented in the Soviet Union. The proposals formulated in the report of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and discussed at a plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee which opened here on Wednesday involve a radical overhaul of the Soviet Communist Party's agrarian policy and will be of cardinal importance not only for agriculture and the entire social and economic development of the USSR, but also for the very concept of socialism's further development.

Gorbachev gave a critical analysis of the root causes of the present acute situation in rural areas, of food shortages and tragedies of the peasantry. He cited gross violations of the Leninist course in the agrarian area made by Josef Stalin in the period of collectivisation.

Among present causes that continue to check the development of agriculture he mentioned, first of all, economic powerlessness of peasants that has not been overcome, secondly, bureaucratic diktat imposed on agricultural enterprises and, simultaneously, the fact that departmental bodies at every level are not kept responsible for their decisions, thirdly, a wide gap between the declared principles of economic management and their practical implementation, fourthly, the aggravating social and ecological problems connected with a lack of a programme for social development of the rural areas and of ecologically safe technologies in agricultural production.

At the same time the report suggests that it would be wrong to regard the collective system as ineffective. Describing the viewpoint of those who call for the disbandment of collective farms and unjustifiable in scientific and practical respects. Gorbachev declared: "There are huge potentialities inherent in the collective system which could be fully unfolded and yield remarkable results only with the correct economic relations."

How is the development of these relations visualised by the plenum?

First of all it is necessary to overcome the alienation of rural workers from property as their ownership is still only formal. There is a need for a radical change in the forms of implementing the rights of a socialist proprietor through broad use of various forms of economic management and cost accounting relations. The restructuring of economic relations in the countryside requires the revision—in theory and in practice—of the existing views of socialist property.

The plenum described the development of leaseholding in the countryside as one of the most important and decisive roads of the restructuring of relations of socialist property at the given stage. It is precisely through leaseholding that Lenin's idea of involving a personal interest, of restoring the sense of being a master and of stimulating man's creative potentials toward solving the food problem can be realised most fully.

Decisions to disband collective enterprises might possibly be taken in some cases. Still the main road is seen in the transfer of collective and state farms to internal lease, and their transformation by forming cooperatives of leaseholders. If the plenum supports the proposals submitted for its consideration to this effect and adopts appropriate documents, the legal and economic prerequisites for a broad transfer to leaseholding will be created.

These documents envisage the placing of land and other means of production at the disposal of leaseholders, and this includes their shaping production structure and their right to use the income from leaseholding, etc. The leaseholder will pay the state an appropriate tax for the use of the land and will bear the responsibility for the preservation and quality of the leased plot, will be strictly complying with contractual obligations.

Tne new pricing mechanism is described as an effective instrument of managing cooperatives' economic activity. New purchase prices of farm produce are to be introduced as of January 1, 1990. But retail prices of such staple foodstuffs as bread, flour, cereals, meat, fish, eggs, milk, sugar, butter, vegetable oil and baby foods will remain unchanged for two or three years ahead.

The plenum precludes the possibility of any forms of putting cooperatives into the hands of the state and of administrative interference in the affairs of production cooperatives. It was suggested to eliminate the existing administrative system of the management of agriculture and the agrarian sector of the economy as a whole under which district authorities actually determined assignments for peasants, schedules of field operations, interfered into all economic affairs. For these purposes a proposal was submitted to the plenum on eliminating district agro-industrial amalgamations whose activity came under the fire of criticism of rural workers.

Questions of the management of the agro-industrial complex at the level of union republics are to be discussed in the context of a published draft document on general principles of the restructuring of the guidance of the economy and the social sphere on the basis of expanding their sovereign rights, self-government and self-financing. It is suggested to eliminate the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and to set up a standing state commission at the USSR Council of Ministers for food and purchases.

Successful implementation of far-reaching plans of development of the countryside and solution to the food problem depends directly on bringing Soviet farm machinery to the standards of farm equipment abroad, on putting an end to huge losses during the taking in and processing of harvests, on organically combining agriculture with the scientific and technological revolution, the ensurance of the transfer to new technologies, to the active use of the achievements of biotechnology, selection, agrochemistry. Balanced development of the entire chain of—"production - transportation - storage - marketing - consumption" of farm produce becomes the demand of the present day.

The question of social readjustment in the rural areas, of overcoming the present state of things when the peasant mode of life has lost its attractiveness and prestige is also in the order of the day. The plenum is to discuss a draft solution setting out the measures to speed up the social development in the countryside. The main priorities in that draft resolution are given to housing construction and communal amenities. The rates of putting new houses to occupancy by rural people in the 13th five-year period must at least be doubled.

The first day of the work of the plenum showed that the consistent line at the restructuring of economic relations in the rural areas, at independent economic activity, variety of forms that free initiative becomes the starting point for the new agrarian policy of the party. In agriculture, just as in other areas of the economy and social life, the Soviet Communist Party deems it necessary to act on the basis of broad democratism. There is no other way.

Elections Process Continues; Candidates Campaign

* Election Meetings Provide Lessons

18000619 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Kurbatov: "But Where Are The Worker Candidates"]

[Text] One day recently, the House of Culture of the PRAVDA publishing house was reminiscent of a besieged fortress: two rows of metal barriers, details of policemen, druzhinniki with red armbands. What was the cause of all this fuss? In the building of the House of Culture, an district meeting for the nomination of candidates for deputy for the Sverdlov territorial district. The precautions are not superfluous: The electors' activity is so intense that order must be protected.

The events at the Writers' Union are still on everyone's mind, that unprecedented incident in an academic milieu when a thousand scholars who disagreed with the resolution of the expanded plenum of the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences exited to a rally. The discussion of the nominated candidates did not go at all smoothly in other social organizations either. There were incidents when people whose authority had seemed unshakable turned out to have been bypassed as candidates for deputy. Well, what of it; elections are elections. Here, everyone is free to allocate his vote at his own discretion. But in spite of all this, in a number of places, during the nomination of candidates for deputy, it was not the candidates themselves who struggled against one another, or their pre-election platforms, but narrowly grouped interests.

Of course, the most simple thing to do now is to groundlessly divide everything into "black" and "white." I think that no one will be bold enough to take this upon himself. This is for the simple reason that much of what is unfolding before our very eyes is being accomplished for the first time. We still have to assimilate this; what is good about it, what is bad, and then substitute the former for the latter.

In terms of principles, the platforms of many of the candidates were similar. This is hardly surprising: our sore points are known to all. The budget deficit, foreign debts, inflation, increase in prices, shortages of necessary goods and foodstuffs, moral declines, bureaucratic whim, immeasurable military expenditures—somehow or another, these are precisely the problems at the center of the aspiring candidates' attention. How to resolve these far from simple problems, what constructive steps to take, however, is another matter. Unfortunately, in my opinion, there were more slogans than realistic proposals.

We cannot break away from this rally democracy. After all, at other district pre-election meetings (sometimes lasting 10-15 hours at a stretch), events never got up to a serious, multi-lateral discussion of the candidates' pre-election platforms. The lion's share of the time was spent on debating points of order.

In all probability, this says something about not only our legal ignorance, but the imperfections of the law of the election of USSR people's deputies. Many prominent lawyers, incidentally, wrote about this while the law was still being discussed.

For example, Article 38 states that "If no more than two candidates for deputy are nominated in the district, no pre-election meeting will be held." This is a position of principle. It says that the meeting may limit the number of aspirants to two. But let us say somebody does not like one of the candidates. Then one more will be nominated. The district meeting will leave one of the three, the most "needed" one. In actual practice, such simple methods were resorted to more than once. And as a result, in one of every four electoral districts—just as in old, better forgotten times—the electorate will again have no choice. And the one who has come through this sort of district purgatory can already be measured for his dress uniform.

And what is this Law? I quote: "Any number of candidates for deputy may be presented for registration." And since it is "any" number, the overly cautious people decided that it could be one. In any case, this is more peaceful. On the other hand, is this not the origin of the demands of the participants of some district meetings' for registration of all the candidates presented, having granted the right of selection to the electors themselves? For example, the participants of the election district meetings in the capital's Voroshilov, Gagarin, Kuybyshev, and Tushinskiy districts came to this resolution. Without a doubt, the electors are in a complex situation here: to select one out of 14 candidates (Gagarin district) is not so simple; it required a second round of elections. Yet, it is true that this is more democratic than having no elections at all.

It seems that there is still one more lesson which we must learn. Letters to the editor testify that far from all of the aspirants for candidates are in equal positions. It is natural that the right to candidacy is infringed upon for workers, engineers and teachers, people who do not have direct access to printing houses and duplicating technology, who are without transportation or time to campaign and meet with people.

Unfortunately, labor collectives which had nominated their own worker-comrades have not rendered them any practical assistance, even in the development of the pre-election platform. This bears the imprint of stereotyped old thinking: if, so to speak, you are of working stock, all doors are open to you. It must be that even the labor collectives themselves grew accustomed to this workers' aristocracy during the years of stagnation, when you saw them less in the machine shop than sitting at all sorts of presidiums.

I will not take it upon myself to confirm whether this is the case or not. Yet facts are stubborn things. Of the eighty candidates for deputy nominated in the Moscow territorial district, only nine turned out to be workers, two representatives of the teaching profession and only five women in all. On the other hand, over 50 candidates are leaders of major enterprises and scientific collectives. Similar "businesslike" inclinations may be traced in a number of the country's other regions as well.

Incidentally, among the ten candidates presented to the district election meeting for the Moscow city national-territorial district No 1, RSFSR, there was not a single worker. This cannot fail to alarm us. After all, the current working class is not the former faceless and voiceless mass. Restructuring has revealed true leaders within the workers' collectives, capable not only of thinking, but of acting in a governmental way. There are more than a few testaments to this. For example, in the capital's Sevastopol district, one of the victors of a face-to-face uncompromising dispute among seven aspirants was brigadier of the complex brigade of the No 2 Mechanical Factory A. Seredenin. Yet many worthy "people from the plant" were edged out.

Something else can be seen behind these facts. It seems that here and there, the rank and file laborers got used to and learned to live with the role of the "masses." Obviously, they do not have the experience of political struggle. This was never even taught to them. Their silent solidarity was sufficient. This was even a convenient position: let others decide. But are those who take it upon themselves to decide always up to the job? In listening to the speeches at the pre-election meetings of the executives, one cannot help thinking: after all, they are talking not about state interests, but of purely local and departmental interests.

There were excesses. Emotions often got out of control, and then the meetings would almost turn into something like a brawl. Our lack of culture in political discussion was showing. It would seem that we ourselves, in rejecting dictation and political force, are banging our fists on the table, not allowing the speaker the floor, trying to shut up anyone who does not agree with us.

We will not get bent out of shape over this; the scenarios from the pre-election meetings are being worked out. No, in no way (or almost in no way) was the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies violated. But all the same....

It would not be an exaggeration to say that all of Bashkiriya is now discussing the summary of the meeting of the 505th national-territorial district. What happened could be observed on local television; it was described in frank detail in two republic newspapers. Over a thousand people signed a demand directed to the Central Election Commission to annul the election results, casting serious doubt upon their reliability. The thing was that during open voting, the audience disclosed the counters' gross error, and then twice more corrected the results of the voting. The rightful demand to select new counters and begin the elections over again was heard. The the meeting's chairwoman (the self-appointed CPSU Raykom First Secretary Ufy Khrebtova) did not even find it necessary to discuss this proposal.

An even more dramatic situation unfolded in the Kaliningrad election district. Here, the candidacy of the CPSU obkom first secretary, D. Romanin, and the department manager of the Baltic party gorkom, V. Boblikov, was opposed. The matter did not escape without a "comrade-to-comrade talk," which workers of the party obkom apparatus held with V. Voblikov, hinting that perhaps he should withdraw his candidacy. V. Voblikov, however, did not withdraw. The extent to which we are conservative in our choice of means of achieving a goal! For example, we are accustomed to the force of pressure—the most effective means of solving all problems. And we strangle, without considering the consequences. But the authority of responsibility, which used to work well, is no guarantee of success today. It seems that certain comrades form the Kaliningrad obkom had not caught the drift of the current changes, and D. Romanin lost.

In some places, people insure themselves against the unexpected ahead of time, creating the most favorable conditions for the "short list" people. As I said, this path shows up the inaccuracy of certain formulations of the law on elections: it is completely sufficient to persuade the participants of the pre-election meeting to leave only only one candidacy on the list. Naturally, that of the first secretary.

For example, such a scenario came to pass at the district meeting in Kurgan, where three candidacies were reduced to one: A. Plekhanov, obkom first secretary. If only this were limited to just Kurgan!

The times we are going through today are not simple. We still have a lot to learn; possibly, some things will have to be started again, and it cannot be ruled out that mistakes were made in some areas. First and foremost, there is not enough mutual respect, the capacity to not only listen but to hear. An unprecedented event which occurred at the very election meeting at which I began these notes speaks of the fact that not everything here is successful. Two candidates—V. Korotich and Yu. Nikulin—demonstratively left the hall when they felt that their rights had been infringed upon by something. Will this step add something to their political baggage? I doubt it. This extraordinary event only confirms the truth: receiving civil freedoms is not enough. One must know how to use them.

Elections Discussed in Volgograd

PM1503173789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own Correspondent V. Drobotov report: "Those to Whom Power Should Be Entrusted: Debates in the Main Square on Candidates and Their Programs"]

[Excerpts] Volgograd—Two faded posters were pinned to the bulletin board in the middle of the main square in the metal workers' settlement. Similar posters had been pinned to the doors of buildings—posters which showed the two candidate people's deputies as they really are and not as embellished by an artist's hand. Those candidates are Aleksandr Borisovich Golovanchikov, a professor, doctor of technical sciences, and dean of the Volgograd Polytechnical Institute, and Valerian Markovich Sobolev, a doctor of technical sciences and chief designer at the "Barrikady" production association.

Both the text and presentation of these posters are quite unlike the standardized old election publications with biographies of the candidates abounding in florid phrases. Everything is different today: Sobolev's program was couched in calm terms, perhaps even too calm. Golovanchikov's program put forward big claims.... [passage omitted]

Aleksandr Kiselev, second secretary of Volgograd Komsomol Obkom, was nominated by the collective of the Volgograd Polytechnical Institute as candidate people's deputy for the Volgograd national territorial okrug No 4. As soon as he was registered with the okrug commission an "action group to campaign on the candidate's behalf" was set up at the Komsomol committee. The well-known writer Yuriy Bondarev has also been registered as a candidate in the same okrug. The voters of Volgograd and Saratov Oblasts are to express their preference for one of them. [passage omitted]

"Kiselev's program lacks substance; I have read it in the newspaper," I heard a deep, quiet voice say. An elderly man approached the bulletin board, his face scorched from the fire in a hot workshop. Vasiliy Ivanovich Bakhtin, a repairman, was for a long time a steel founder: "It lacks a firm foundation. Bondarev's stand is more solid—that is my opinion." [passage omitted]

A question came from the group of young workers surrounding us by the bulletin board in the square:

"How is it that in all the electoral okrugs here, two candidates have been registered for each seat, whereas our party obkom first secretary will be elected unopposed?"

"The apparatchiki have clearly sewn it up," Vasiliy Ivanovich concluded with some malice.

This is what happened. In Krasnoarmeyskiy territorial okrug No 138, four candidates were nominated by labor collectives, including V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, who was nominated at more than 50 collectives. A neighborhood meeting in the okrug nominated a fifth candidate—Svetlana Ivanovna Umetskaya, a doctor and member of the informal "Ekologiya" club. As the situation stood she could compete for the seat in the pre-election campaign.

An okrug meeting was due in the Krasnoarmeyskiy okrug. But the day before the set date, it was announced that that the meeting would be held in a remote rural rayon belonging to the okrug. There were no public explanations as to why the meeting was being switched to that particular place, and ill-informed rumors followed. At the meeting the majority delegated by labor collectives (the nomination of delegates itself guaranteed that majority) rejected four candidates.

It was all legal but a certain dissatisfaction remained, as did the question: "How has this happened?" The "debate" about the candidates and their programs in the square continued. Sometimes I felt aggrieved but in my heart I rejoiced: Maybe some of my fellow citizens have given way to their emotions, maybe others have no sense of moderation in their assessment of individuals—all this will pass: The main thing is that people really sense the democratic spirit of the election campaign.

Never before have we debated among ourselves so heatedly, passionately, even selflessly at work or in the street about who should be elected and who should be entrusted with supreme power.

Peace Advocate Candidates Elected

PM1503104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[V. Khatuntsev "Reportage from the Hall of Columns": "Seats Await Occupiers"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Peace Foundation and eight Soviet committees advocating peace, solidarity, and international cooperation are supposed to be represented in the future supreme organ by seven people's deputies. They were to be elected from 17 candidates named back in January. [passage omitted]

It could not be simpler, you might think: choosing 7 from 20 or so candidates. But among the multitude of possible voting results some people foresaw a not particularly desirable—but very, very likely—outcome: an abortive election. You do not have to be an expert mathematician to be able to calculate the possibility of such a spread of votes that a lot would not get the requisite number for victory. And that is what happened. Of the 17 candidates, only 5 managed to get more than one half of the votes, entitling them to be elected USSR people's deputies. Two seats remained unoccupied. What now?

According to article 61 of the Law on Elections, in cases "where the number of elected deputies is less than the number of seats," repeat elections are held at which the remaining delegates are elected. So candidate deputies have to be nominated again and another election held. Incidentally, this situation could be repeated wherever there are many more candidates than there are seats.

Who are the five who obtained more than one-half of the votes at the election in the Hall of Columns? They are V. Bedulya, chairman of the "Sovetskaya Belorussiya" Kolkhoz in Brest Oblast; F. Burlatskiy, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer; A. Karpov, chairman of the Soviet Peace Foundation Board; V. Maslin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Foundation Board; and USSR pilot-cosmonaut S. Savitskaya.

Ryzhkov Gives Speech in Barnaul

PM1503150089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Economy and the New Regional Policy: N.I. Ryzhkov's Meetings With Working People in Altay Kray"]

[Text] Barnaul, 14 Mar—The CPSU's election platform, set forth in the Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People, incorporates the full diversity of urgent problems of restructuring—economic, social, national, and ecological. How to make more active use of all levers of true people's power in the localities and how to increase people's activeness in the management of all society's affairs were discussed at a meeting here today between representatives of Altay Kray party and social organizations and labor collectives and N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

The Altay is not only a major industrial and agricultural region of the country; it is also a unique natural area of Siberia. Concern for the sensible utilization of its wealth should be indissolubly linked to the needs of the individual, and therefore of the region in which he lives—the village, settlement, rayon, or city. This was spoken of at the meeting by D.G. Dimitriadi, general director of the "Barnaulenergy" production association; S.S. Katash, chief of the Altay Language and Literature Faculty at the Gorno-Altaysk Teacher Training Institute; A.V. Yevdokimov, machine operator at the "Bolshevik" kolkhoz in Sovetskiy Rayon; V.N. Bavarin, chairman of Barnaul Gorispolkom, and others.

N.I. Ryzhkov addressed those present. My trip to the Kuzbass and now my tour of the Altay, he said, and my numerous meetings with working people and, to put it bluntly, trenchant and extremely frank conversations with the people of Kemerovo and Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk and Barnaul, Gorno-Altaysk, Biysk, Rubtsovsk, and a number of rural rayons have provided an opportunity to study in greater depth the processes brought to life by restructuring. These processes make us evaluate in a new way the role and significance of the territories and their management organs in everything connected with the implementation of the political and economic reforms and the resolution of the key task of increasing the Soviet people's prosperity.

The draft General Principles for Restructuring Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of the Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing, published in the press, expounds comprehensively and in depth the propositions to the effect that the territories are today in the forefront of the struggle for the practical implementation of the ideas and intentions outlined by the party in April 1985. The time has come to clearly define their place in this struggle. This approach is dictated first and foremost by the complexity of the situation and the profound laggardness that has grown up in the social development of many of our republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and villages. It is also required by an objectively necessary consistency in the development of the economic reform, which, having begun in the basic component—the enterprise—should spread gradually to regions of the country as a whole. Finally, it is prompted by society's urgent need for political transformations and the growth of the true people's power of the soviets.

The new regional policy, in the speaker's opinion, should permeate all aspects of activity today, from the provision of food, goods, and daily services to the population, the development of the social infrastructure, and the organization of leisure to environmental conservation and much more besides. Problems, whether they are big or small, are always concrete and arise in a given region, city, or village, and therefore they should also be tackled on the spot, with very specific practical results. That is one of the fundamental principles of the new regional policy. Its main aim is to achieve high social activeness by the population of each territory, with the local soviets playing a leading role without fail as the main component of socialist self-management. Here the path is clear: Alongside effective, enterprising soviets, it is necessary to develop a multifaceted, fully active system of self-management organs with full autonomy on questions that can and should be tackled locally. With, of course, the preservation centrally of the functions of realizing the interests of the whole people.

It is also clear that economic accountability, self-sufficiency, and self-financing should become, predominantly, the reliable economic base for territorial self-management. Only on the basis of these principles can we stimulate true interest in the efficient utilization of all sources for forming the local budget and the desire to actively bring all regional reserves and resources into economic circulation.

The implementation of these fundamental guidelines, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers stressed, will act as a powerful catalyst for territorial socioeconomic development. But that will only happen if we can link the interests of territories and enterprises economically and enshrine them in law, regardless of whether the enterprises in question are producing output and services for the local market, or whether they belong to union and republican ministries.

Here a principle that is common to everyone should be implemented strictly: Those who work better should live better. This applies not only to distribution, but to everything else that ultimately determines people's living standard. Another general rule must be stressed: All expenditure on the development of the social sphere will be covered by the soviets from their own resources. That is, territories' financial resources will be made directly dependent on the efficiency of the work of enterprises located in the territories concerned. If your own income is insufficient, you will have to cut expenditure or borrow.

In short, it is a question of establishing healthy economic relations between enterprises and soviets. No easy task. There is much here that we will be doing for the first time. But it may already be said quite clearly that implementation of the new regional policy opens up a sure path to the resolution of urgent political and socioeconomic problems on the basis of an increase in the efficiency and competitiveness of republican and other territorial economic complexes. Here paramount importance is attached not to abstract economic indicators, but to the satisfaction of people's urgent needs and interests.

It must be said frankly, N.I. Ryzhkov noted, that we are still only beginning to recognize the potential that territorial self-management and self-financing have to offer.

We are barely starting to overcome excessive organization and formalism, the indifference of the executive apparatus, and the apathy of a significant proportion of the population. Ridding ourselves of this grave legacy of past years forever means reviving in practice the Leninist concept of the soviets in its new interpretation, enriched by our historical experience. After all, we all have an interest in a radical change in regional policy. The might of the state is ultimately determined by how economically strong and developed each part of its territory is, be it a republic, kray, or oblast, city or rayon, settlement, or individual village.

The speech went on to outline the profoundly humane goal of the new regional policy. Its essence is that any decision that is important to the territory should begin by answering the question: What do people most need now? These urgent needs today are food, housing, goods, and services. The territories have a special role in these urgent problems. The organs of people's power—the soviets—should act on these matters not as overseers and not as obeyers of orders; they should take on, metaphorically speaking, the functions of the proprietor who possesses all the necessary financial resources, and really fulfill the instructions of the citizens who empowered the soviets to be the real power locally. We must work to ensure that this real power is able, on the basis of local budgets, to make decisions that are very important to people, in particular on regional supplements to family allowances and payments for children. It is important for people to feel that the local soviet power is really concerned about them. After all, that is a tremendous moral incentive. It strengthens people's sense of being indissolubly linked to their own immediate homeland, the city or village where they live and work.

All these important matters, N.I. Ryzhkov went on to say, can be concentrated in specially formulated, large-scale regional programs for social development and the growth of people's prosperity. Everything should be channeled into tackling this task: the expansion of the soviets' financial base through the strengthening of the local economy, the introduction of a new system of payments for state enterprises, and taxation on cooperatives. Finally, the soviets of people's deputies can and should themselves make energetic efforts to attract financial resources.

The government is pursuing a firm line in accordance with which central organs must channel their efforts into freeing the hands of the lcoal soviets for enterprising work. Without this, without real self-management, and without the improvement of the economy of the regions and the country as a whole, the new regional policy will be doomed to failure.

The social reorientation of the economy, N.I. Ryzhkov stressed, can become a reality only if the country's agro-industrial complex develops efficiency and yields tangible results. That is the main thing for every territory, every republic, and the country as a whole. Especially since, for the majority of regions, the potential of the agro-industrial complex is the backbone of their economic base. Its utilization largely determines the results of regional policy, and thus its social thrust. It may even be said that the formulation of the most important elements of the present regional policy began with the agro-industrial complex. The experience already accumulated offers every reason to conclude that our regions and territories, including those in Siberia, have sufficient material and economic might to eliminate the problem of food supplies to the population once and for all. But this matter is progressing intolerably slowly.

What is the reason for this? Shortcomings by the center in formulating the overall strategy for the development of the complex, the inability of the localities to properly exploit the new opportunities that are available? Obviously both these things play a part. We can remember a good many decisions on agriculture. They undoubtedly had some effect. But only for a time. In the implementation of plans, the country's agrarian sector became bogged down halfway, failing to achieve stable, dynamic development. We can no longer tolerate this situation.

A comprehensive analysis of the problems that have accumulated over the decades and a realistic assessment of the existing situation require that we make a radical change in economic relations, the crux of agrarian policy in the countryside. A party Central Committee plenum will be held 15 March to discuss the state of affairs in the agro-industrial complex and adopt radical decisions. It may be said that we are on the eve of major transformations in the country's agriculture.

The speech analyzed in detail the territories' new tasks in resolving the housing problem. There is much here that has not been fully brought into play. This applies to the provision of local materials for housing construction. Unfortunately, the right granted to the population to acquire apartments from the state and public housing stock is being utilized very poorly.

The new regional policy opens up important reserves in the comprehensive and efficient utilization and development of the territories' production, scientific, technical, and intellectual potential and in the comprehensive approach to the development of regional production forces.

As for the prospects for Gornyy Altay, in the speaker's opinion these clearly lie in utilizing the historical continuity of economic dvelopment and the skills of the indigenous population to raise diversified livestock raising to a higher qualitative standard. Second, in the course of conversations, N.I. Ryzhkov reported, people asked us to help the oblast, in light of the favorable natural conditions, to produce ecologically clean food products, process agricultural raw materials on the spot, and create not only a modern timber procurement industry but a powerful wood processing sector. We will certainly support these requests, since only the comprehensive development of Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast will make it possible to take into account more fully the needs of the local population and create opportunities for providing them with effective employment and ensuring the rational utilization of the region's unique raw material resources and its active participation in interterritorial exchanges.

We should also heed the opinion of the population of Gorno-Altay Oblast on the need to strengthen the energy potential of Gornyy Altay. The power-labor ratio in the economy here is only half the level for Altay Kray. In this connection the opinion was expressed that there should be a further comprehensive study of the question of building a GES on the River Katun.

Everywhere in our country, N.I. Ryzhkov said in conclusion, matters are now developing in such a way as to create a full and vital environment for man. Here there is enormous scope for local initiative and social self-management. A reliable legal base will be provided for this work by the Law on Local Self-Management and the Local Economy that is now in preparation. Work in the localities should be oriented toward practical action and should be in the spirit of the further, consistent development of political and economic reforms, the radical alteration of the soviets' role in resolving key tasks, and the general course of increasing Soviet people's prosperity and improving their life.

Enormous distances separate the cities and villages of Altay Kray, where N.I. Ryzhkov was 11-14 March. Frank conversations with workers and kolkhoz members, specialists, and party and soviet workers highlighted the positive experience accumulated in the course of restructuring and focused attention on unresolved problems and shortcomings.

One of the kray's leading enterprises is the Barnaul Transport Machine-Building Plant. The switch to new economic management conditions enabled its collective to achieve a high pace of work and channel a significant proportion of profits into the construction of housing and cultural and consumer facilities and into supplying their own food products. Approving the transport machine workers' experience, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers drew their attention to increasing the production of consumer goods and further improving manufacturing techniques.

In a conversation with leaders and engineers of the "Altayskiy Motornyy Zavod" production association in Barnaul, ways of overcoming laggardness in the production of motors for agricultural machinery and improving their quality and competitiveness were examined. In particular there was a discussion of the planned production of a motor for the new T-250 tractor, which it is planned to produce in Rubtsovsk and Pavlodar. Nearly 90 percent of original subassemblies and components for this motor were developed by the association's designers in a very short period. But in order to bring them on stream a radical modernization and the assimilation of sophisticated technologies are needed. The detailed discussion on this topic continued in Rubtsovsk—the Altay tractor builders' city. Here the consequences of the command-and-administer method of economic leadership were particularly exposed; this method led to substantial laggardness in both the production and social spheres. All this came into clear focus at the "Altayskiy Traktornyy Zavod" production association, where much of the equipment is worn out, the levels of gas and dust pollution are high, and the working conditions are difficult. Concrete ways of improving matters were identified at N.I. Ryzhkov's meeting with the plant collective.

The problems of increasing the efficiency of agricultural production were discussed at the "Rodinskiy" sovkhoz. This farm, which specializes in raising thoroughbred sheep of the Altay fine-wool breed, raised by local scientists and breeding workers, has become the country's record holder for wool yields. The sheep raisers' success stems from improving breeding work, giving thought to the feeding and keeping of animals, and organizing labor efficiently. After studying the sovkhoz's work, N.I. Ryzhkov noted that its experience is of value to other farms too.

In Barnaul, Biysk, and Gorno-Altaysk the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited trade enterprises and met with local residents. Shortcomings in the supply of industrial and food goods to the population were the main topic here. The situation in trade is changing for the better, though only slowly, the shoppers noted. Poultry has appeared on sale, prices for cooperative meat have fallen, and the new confectionery factory in the kray center has produced its first output. All this is good. But why are the improvements in supply barely noticeable? Answering this and other questions, N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that the kray, like other parts of the country, must live and develop on the basis of its own resources and reserves. And there are plenty of them in the Altay.

People in the kray took a great interest in N.I. Ryzhkov's trip to the site of the planned construction of the Katun GES in Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast. There are many different opinions, sometimes diametrically opposed, about the new hydroelectric power project. In fact, in the course of the election campaign in Altay Kray, the position of the candidate USSR people's deputies on this point is regarded as perhaps the most important of all.

...And now the MI-8 helicopter flies above the ribbon of the Katun, bound by blue ice, and lands in a canyon not far from impressive cliffs that overhang the gorge. Armed with weighty arguments, maps, and tables, representatives of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the S.Ya. Zhuk Hydroproject Planning and Survey Scientific Research Institute, and the USSR

Academy of Sciences are here at the site of the future dam to "defend the project." The indigenous inhabitants have come in from the nearby villages—some on foot, some on motorcycles—hoping, of course, that their voice will also be heard, because this unique region should receive the necessary socioeconomic development. N.I. Ryzhkov was told: After a second expert report, the USSR Academy of Sciences dismissed fears that underground water will cause dangerous concentrations of the mercury deposits that are present here to accumulate in the reservoir. Fears that after the damming of the Katun the water balance of the Ob will be disrupted were also not confirmed. Nor does the dam threaten the lcoal landscape: The canyon is virtually free of forests. Hwoever, after listening carefully to these new arguments too, the head of government still refrained from making a final decision. That decision, he stated, can only be adopted on the basis of a profound study, taking the population's opinion into account, and on the basis of all the ecological consequences and economic results.

N.I. Ryzhkov was accompanied on his tour of the kray by F.V. Popov, first secretary of Altay CPSU Kraykom, and A.A. Kuleshov, chairman of the krayispolkom.

More on Shcherbitskiy Address 2 Mar

AU1503135489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 4 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[RATAU report on speech by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and USSR people's candidate deputy, at the meeting with his voters in the town of Zheltyye Vody, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, on 2 March: "Advancing Restructuring More Energetically, Striving for Practical Results"; PRAVDA version of this address published in the 6 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 58-62]

[Excerpt] Advancing restructuring more energetically, striving for practical results—this is the leitmotiv of the electoral campaign that has developed in the Ukraine. The republic's working people are aspiring to speed up the renewal processes not by elevated words, but by practical work in the mines and plants, at kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and scientific institutions in order to more fully meet the material and spiritual needs of people.

Increasing the contribution made by every oblast, rayon, and labor collective was the main idea at the meeting held by the voters with the USSR people's candidate deputy for Verkhnedneprovskiy territorial constituency No 424, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the V.I. Lenin Palace of Culture in the town of Zheltyye Vody, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

A.M. Moskalenko, gorkom first secretary, opened the meeting.

The voters were then addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy. He said:

Like the whole of the country, we are preparing for an important event—the election of USSR people's deputies, which will be held in a new way, under the conditions of democratizing the electoral process. This will revive the Leninist traditions in the creation and activity of the supreme organs of power.

I view my nomination as a USSR people's candidate deputy first of all as an expression of our people's confidence in the Communist Party, in its deeds and plans. Taking advantage of the present meeting, I would like to thank the electors of Verkhnedneprovskiy constituency for this confidence.

As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, visited the republic recently. In his speeches to the inhabitants of Kiev and in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee he profoundly analyzed the situation in the most important sectors of work and in the whole life of the republic, and clearly defined the tasks on whose accomplishment our progress along the path of restructuring depends. **Mikhail Sergeyevich's meetings in labor collectives and the progress made in the electoral campaign showed that in the republic, as all over the country, the political electoral platform expounded by the communists in the CPSU Central Committee's appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People," had met with active support.**

While fully sharing the ideas and theses of this document, I shall apply all my energies and experience to translating its programmatic tasks into practice—to accomplishing economic and political reform, improving interethnic relations, enriching the spiritual lives of people, and preserving peace in the world. I am firmly convinced that the path chosen by the party and the people is the right one, and that restructuring will triumph.

The electoral platform proceeds from the the party's all-round concern for man's happiness and well-being. That is why I consider it important that all the activity of party organizations and administrative organs be centered on specific people with their everyday needs and expectations: on workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, women, young people, and veterans. I see my next important task to be in further strengthening the party's links with the people, in reliance on their powerful energy and enormous spiritual potential, and in engaging ever-new sections of society in the restructuring processes.

In all my activity, I proceed and will proceed from the view that broad democratization, as the 27th CPSU and the All-Union Party Conference emphasized, is the core of restructuring. In consistently asserting a political attitude in their work, in enhancing the importance of elective organs, and in endeavoring to demarcate the functions of party, administrative, and economic organs, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's party organizations are above all restructuring their own activity on the principles of democracy. This means that party committees do not intend to intervene directly in the practical working of the organs of power and administration, and that they will pursue the line aimed at the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies and at repudiating administrative injunctions in the control of socioeconomic development. But they will continue to hold the levers of political leadership in their hands and to direct the activity of the Communists, thereby ensuring the success of restructuring. Thus the main substance of party work consists first of all in work among people and for people.

Wider and fuller use has been made of democratic principles in a decisive sector: in work among cadres. An important result of the accountability reports and election held in the republic's party organizations late in 1988 was the fact that Communists really capable of accomplishing the restructuring tasks had taken over the leadership of many party organizations and party committees. During the campaign, every fourth party group organizer, every third shop and basic party organization secretary, 148 raykom and gorkom secretaries, and 10 obkom secretaries were replaced. Glasnost and electiveness, ever more widely applied in settling cadre problems, have ensured that leaders of administrative and economic organs are renewed in the necessary way.

But it is also obvious that a great deal depends on the standards of specialists' training. Some of them still have not joined in the work in earnest. There are also some who are unable to master the new methods of work. In the interests of restructuring, energetic, responsible, and bold functionaries able to achieve practical results must be brought to the front line of restructuring. This is now the main thing.

The deepening processes of democratization and the developing glasnost are radically changing our social and political life. Apathy and indifference are sinking into the past, and the civil stance of people is invigorating. This also has been convincingly manifested during the present electoral campaign. Labor collectives, public organizations, and voters have assumed a very exacting and interested attitude to the formation of the new body of deputies, which will be entrusted with formulating supreme state policy at the crucial stage of political and economic reform. It suffices to say that 650 candidate deputies have been nominated in the republic for 175 constituencies, and 312 of them have been registered. Forty-five percent of the candidate deputies are workers and kolkhoz peasants.

The electoral campaign has also taught us some political lessons. Accumulated experience is being thoroughly analyzed and considered in drafting amendments and additions to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution, as well as the laws on the election of people's deputies to the republic's and local soviets. In this way concrete, real forms of socialist self-management and authentic people's sovereignty are now being created and verified by life. **And we can see for ourselves how political reform is taking us back to the Leninist concept of the state as a political organization of the working people, to the Leninist slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"**

Of course, democracy and glasnost are inseparable from political culture, conscientiousness, and state and labor discipline, inseparable from the resolute struggle against all negative phenomena that make themselves felt in our lives. And what should guarantee the people's socialist self-management, what should protect personal freedom and dignity is the creation of a law-governed state called upon to ensure the supremacy of the law in society.

I have always and in all posts entrusted to me, V.V. Shcherbitskiy pointed out, fought shortcomings, bureaucratism, indiscipline, and irresponsibility, fought against any illegal acts or privileges, fought for social justice. I like respect for people, but I am deeply convinced that firmness and an uncompromising stance are needed to eradicate slackness, mismanagement, parasitism, and the more so to eradicate criminal offenses. Party and administrative organs are called upon to pursue a principled line with regard to these questions. But it must be plainly stated that no government will be able to eliminate offenses without active assistance on the part of all people.

I would like to emphasize the high demands presented by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee on the Communists. We proceed from the belief that any infringement or abuse, any involvement of a party member in such behavior, as well as a conciliatory attitude assumed toward such trespassers is incompatible with the CPSU affiliation, and the more so with holding a leading post. We will be even stricter in pursuing this line.

Subsequently the speaker touched upon some issues that are being actively discussed in the electoral campaign. I would like, he said, to speak primarily about the most important thing. The principle that the USSR is one single union state was established in our lives and activities a long time ago. The strength of this state lies precisely in the unity of the member republics. In recent times, however, some people have been trying to allege that this strength somehow derived from the arithmetical total of the strengths of the republics. This attitude clearly does not stand up to criticism. **Our entire historical experience and the present determinant development trends are irrefutable evidence that the prosperity of any republic is ensured not by each of them individually, but in the indissoluble interaction with the other republics integrated in the union, with the entire country. Consequently, the only way the question may be formulated is this: The**

essential condition for the strength and capability of our state lies in the organic combination of all the fraternal republics that make up our common family.

It goes without saying that the mechanism of interaction between central and republic-level organs needs improvement. In many regions, including our republic, many tasks may and must be accomplished better and quicker. But this can only be done with the assistance of other republics. This is what makes us strong.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently examined draft basic principles for restructuring leadership in the economy and the social sphere of union republics. This draft will be published for wide discussion. The plan is to substantially expand the economic independence and responsibility of the republics, and to ensure that all-union and regional interests are organically combined. Also, a USSR law on local self-management and local economy [khozyeystvo] is being drafted. These and other immediate tasks concerning the harmonization of interethnic relations will be thoroughly examined at a CPSU Central Committee plenum. Active preparations for this plenum are now in progress.

Constant attention to interethnic relations has also been paid by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. I would like to state, the speaker said, that we are firmly against administrative methods, and even more so compulsory methods in settling these questions. With regard to the most topical problems of interethnic relations, we have formulated and are implementing a clear-cut and consistent program of action. In particular, conditions are being provided for the more active use of the Ukrainian language in state, social, and cultural life. The T.G. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society has been founded. The republic's Supreme Soviet is drafting legal precepts for granting Ukrainian the status of an official state language, and ensuring the natural development of native-Russian bilingualism.

We aspire to more fully meet the national cultural needs of the republic's multinational population, including compact ethnic groups. They are duly represented in elective organs. Optional groups have been formed to study the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and other languages. In a number of oblasts, systematic television and radio broadcasts have been introduced in Bulgarian, modern Greek, Moldavian, and Hungarian. Several hundred new ethnic amateur art teams have been formed. A Polish cultural and enlightening society has begun its activity in Lvov, and a Jewish Cultural Society, in Kiev. A similar Hungarian cultural and enlightening society is being formed.

In settling all these complex problems, including highly sensitive problems concerning interethnic relations, we adhere to the consolidation of all public forces and to the pluralism of opinions. We are for consolidation and pluralism, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, but on one condition: on the platform of restructuring.

That is why the attempts of individual persons and groups to take advantage of democratization and glasnost to the detriment of friendship among peoples, and thereby to the detriment of restructuring, are absolutely unacceptable. In particular, this applies to the draft program of the so-called People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring, prepared by an initiative group of Kiev men of letters and published recently in the newspaper LITERATURNA UKRAYINA. And it is not mere chance that workers, kolkhoz peasants, and representatives of the intelligentsia are now debunking in a well substantiated way in the press and on radio and television the draft's theses, which contradict the political platform of restructuring and the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Constitutions, and that lead people of all nationalities living in the Ukraine not toward unity, but toward disunity.

We are confident that the people of the Ukraine will make this out correctly. And of course, any attempt to form political structures in opposition to the CPSU will be rebuffed. We have been educated as internationalists. And to internationalists the interests of all nations and ethnic groups are equally important and dear. In proceeding from this point of view, **the Ukrainian Communist Party will continue to strengthen in practice friendship and unity among our country's peoples, and to pay due attention to the patriotic and internationalist education of people.**

V.V. Shcherbitskiy continued by pointing out that **justified concern has been aroused among people by the questions of environmental protection.** Since the first 5-year periods, the Ukraine has been developing as one of the country's industrial bases. The branches of heavy industry developed in the republic before the war, and particularly after the war. But despite repeated appeals on this issue, ministries and departments often simply "economized" on environmental protection facilities. And builders did not make use of the resources allocated for these purposes. As a result, the level of air pollution has significantly increased in many industrial centers, and the level of water pollution in a number of reservoirs has occasionally exceeded permissible limits.

That is why the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee twice last year alone examined in detail urgent measures to improve the ecological situation, and to radically restructure the entire matter of nature protection. In the last 3 years, about R5 billion have been spent in the republic on the protection of the environment, including R1.3 billion from state capital investments. Owing to these measures, the amount of harmful discharges and sewage has significantly declined. The ecological and scientific-technological expert examination of all projects under construction or being modernized has become mandatory. In nature protection work, use has been made of economic methods (payments for the exploitation of natural resources, increased fines, the application of various sanctions, and so forth).

Much attention has been paid, V.V. Shcherbitskiy continued, to improvements in your city's ecological conditions. In the current 5-year period, a graduating tower and a pumping station for circulating the water supply at the Southern radio plant, drainage canals at the "Elektron" plant, and a number of other environmental protection facilities have been built. In 1991, the heat and power plant will switch over to natural gas. Land reclaiming operations are in progress on the site of an exhausted mine.

However, the gorispolkom, trade unions, and even the collectives of enterprises that violate the corresponding laws are not persistent and exacting enough as far as environmental protection is concerned. As a result, there has been practically no change in the level of air pollution. The work carried out to protect small rivers is unsatisfactory. For example, your neighbors have already set about the planned clearing of the Zheltaya River which flows in Kirovograd and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts, but you are still waiting for something.

Paramount attention will be paid in the republic to creating ecological awareness among people, the candidate deputy emphasized. In the next 5-year period, the plan is to increase state capital investment in environmental protection measures 70 percent. Responsibility for the observance of legislation will significantly increase. It goes without saying that, in order to tackle ecological problems successfully, economic organs, soviets, and the public must pool their efforts.

In this connection it is to be noted that in the struggle for nature conservation, the voice of the so-called informal spontaneous associations is becoming increasingly audible. But among the "informals" there are some who categorically demand that a particular producer that is allegedly ecologically harmful be stopped. As a rule, they present the facts in a distorted way: Someone who says "let us stop" is allegedly a champion of restructuring; but someone who thinks about how to remedy the situation without harming the interests of society is supposedly hindering restructuring.

Confrontations that arise on such occasions result, to a large extent, from the inability to conduct a democratic dialogue. And this art must be learned. It is all the more worth having a look around: How many useful things are being done or could have been done in every town and village by spontaneous associations in close cooperation with local authorities? This applies to establishing contacts between science and production, to active participation in the school reform, to humane solicitude for old people and for the so-called "difficult" teenagers, and to concrete assistance in overcoming such an evil as drunkenness and alcoholism. In a word, the field for public initiatives is enormous. And we give all support to any useful initiative.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then briefly described **the state of affairs and tasks in the economy.** The restructuring processes, he noted, are complex, and specially in this sphere. They take a lot of time, and must not be simplified. In the years of stagnation, many problems built up. But not everything can be done at once and as we would like.

Thus it is essential to concentrate on accomplishing immediate tasks that are realistic at the present stage of development. And the most important thing is to work better and promote restructuring more energetically. Then accumulated problems will also be settled more rapidly.

In accomplishing the economic reform, we endeavor to use the new economic mechanism in such a way as to provide incentives primarily for accelerating scientific and technical progress, for the intensified saving of resources, and for improving the situation in sectors of crucial importance for the national economy.

This has undoubtedly helped the republic achieve the main indexes, and in some indexes even to exceed the 5-year targets. This applies, in particular, to the growth rate of national income, of industrial production, of the output of many kinds of goods in physical terms, and to the production of livestock produce. The targets for the delivery of meat, milk, and eggs to union-republic stocks have been met. A good start has also been made this year.

The significant improvements made in the **social reorientation of the economy** are of particular importance. In the last 3 years, the state capital investments used for social needs exceeded the targets envisaged by the 5-year plan by R4.5 billion. In particular, about 200,000 apartments were put into service in excess of the plan, and this was as much as the republic's half-year target for housing construction. Some 900,000 more people—including about 70,000 in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast—thereby obtained new apartments or improved their housing conditions. The plans for commissioning hospitals and polyclinics were fulfilled, and the targets for putting schools and preschool establishments into service were exceeded.

In the town of Zheltyye Vody, the social program has been implemented rather well, too. Out of the 190,000 square meters of housing space targeted for the 5-year period, 127,300 square meters have already been commissioned in the last 3 years. Some 2,000 families have obtained new apartments or improved their housing conditions. A children's combine, a school, a polyclinic, stores, and other facilities for social purposes have been built, too.

Consequently, positive processes are on the whole on the ascent both in the economic and in the social spheres. However, it cannot be said that we are satisfied with the results of our work. The costly nature of the economy has not been completely overcome. Agriculture fell short of the plan for overall production. What matters most is that the efforts that have been made do not immediately turn into a perceptible improvement in people's living standards.

Quite a few problems have also accumulated in your town. The synthetic fur factory, the meat combine, and the dairy need serious reconstruction. The waiting list for dwellings has 5,000 people listed on it, but the last house built along the lines of local soviets was commissioned in 1980. There is also a pressing need to strengthen the material base of trade, and in particular to expand storehouses. This is why at least half—or, if possible, even more than half—of all capital investments should be allocated for the construction of houses and social and service facilities.

The speaker also touched upon the so-called problem of shortages. Of course, the candidate deputy said, the situation has been aggravated by all kinds of rumors about an allegedly forthcoming currency reform, growing prices, and so forth. However, it has been explained repeatedly that if prices are to be reformed, it will only be after a nationwide discussion. Nonetheless, many people are storing goods, while the profiteer makes a fortune by buying and reselling commodities. Checks made by the workers' control organizations have also showed many shortcomings in trade organization and frequent stoppages in the sale of goods in plentiful stock at storehouses.

However, something else is evident. The main cause of shortcomings lies in the fact that high-quality goods are being manufactured in insufficient amounts, and that, in connection with this, the commodity stocks do not match the increased cash incomes of the population. The consumer market has been discomposed, and unsatisfied effective demand is growing. The population's deposits in saving banks have significantly increased.

This is connected, to a great extent, with the fact that wages have been growing faster than labor productivity. The money paid out was in fact unearned. In 1988 alone, wages paid in excess of the plan totaled R1.4 billion in the republic's industry and construction sectors, including R182 million in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

Problems concerning a radical improvement in trade and consumer services were recently examined by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government. The activity of a number of leaders of ministries, departments, and administrative organs was assessed very strictly. The goal set for the republic was: Consumer goods produced in the current year must fully cover wages paid out. For this purpose it is essential to step up the production of these goods, compared with 1988, by more than two-fold, or by R4.5 billion. Leaders of your town's enterprises should also rack their brains over this problem. We must no longer tolerate the fact that wages paid in your city for the production of consumer goods twice exceed the value of these goods themselves. The gorispolkom is expected to be more enterprising in this respect. As is known, the rights of local soviets in leadership and control over the production of consumer goods on the territory under their jurisdiction have significantly increased, and the task of normalizing money circulation is now of paramount importance for all.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then gave an account of plans for the immediate future and longer terms. First of all, he emphasized, we will continue to pay much attention to problems concerning an improvement in food supply. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committe and the republic's government attend to these problems constantly, one might say every day. Efforts are being made, first of all, to increase food resources, and the results are already palpable. The republic's average annual procurements in the last 3 years, compared with the preceding 5-year period, increased by 500,000 tonnes of meat in dressed weight, or by 24 percent, and by 3 million tonnes of milk, or by 21 percent. This made it possible to somewhat improve the supply, particularly that of milk products. The 1988 per-capita consumption averaged 68 kg of meat and 366 kg of milk, or 5 and 57 kg, respectively, more than the annual average in the preceding 5-year period. In Dnepropetrovsk Oblast the 1988 average per-capita meat consumption was close to 74 kg, and that of milk reached 378 kg, thus also significantly exceeding the annual average of the eleventh 5-year period.

So why is the situation at the store counters clearly unsatisfactory? There are various reasons for that, but the main reason is that livestock productivity at many kolkhozes and sovkhozes is still low, mainly because they lag behind in feed production and breeding and take inadequate advantage of the chances offered by the new economic mechanism. The speaker cited the following example: In 1988, milk production at Dnepropetrovsk Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased by merely 0.1 percent, and per-cow milk yields did not reach even 2,700 kg. This was 140-180 kg less than in the adjacent Donetsk and Kherson oblasts, and less than the republic's average. In view of such a situation, is a significant improvement in the supplies possible?

What, then, are the ways to implement the food program? First of all, it is essential to radically restructure production and economic relations in the countryside on the basis of economic accountability and self-financing. In the current year, 35 percent of farms will switch their crop production and livestock breeding over to leasing, and the proportion of all kolkhozes and sovkhozes using the lease contract will amount to two-thirds. Practice shows that this method is good and, what matters most, it produces quick results.

The next highly important lever is the accelerated social development of the countryside. A great deal has been done in this regard. In a number of oblasts, including Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, farms have accelerated their efforts to retain young people, and a trend has appeared toward stabilizing labor collectives. However, this is only the beginning of enormous work. A comprehensive program has been worked out and is being implemented in the republic for the social reorganization of villages in the twelfth 5-year period and through the year 2000. Capital investments for this purpose that have been planned for this period exceed R35 billion.

In settling the many-sided problem of accelerating the social development of the countryside, the village needs, of course, the assistance of the city, not one-time but systematic assistance, given on a contractual basis. This was precisely the way this issue was posed at the union-level conference-seminar of gorkom secretaries and gorispolkom chairmen recently held in Kharkov and Belgorod.

As is known, the performance of the construction complex is of crucial importance for accomplishing tasks in both the economy and the social sphere. This is why for many years we have endeavored to strengthen the base of the construction industry and capital construction, and improve working and living conditions for construction workers. The population's demand for construction materials has now increased everywhere. And it is important to make fuller use of local construction materials, without pinning hopes on benefactors in the center. For example, in the current year the republic's brick production will increase by 500 million. This is still too little, but this amount will undoubtedly have its impact on the market stocks. With some 30 brick plants under construction, we are now also expanding the production of other construction materials. All this will enable us to better meet the needs of the population. This is the direction in which we will continue to work.

The speaker told the voters that the appropriate organs in the republic had already been working on the prospects for socioeconomic development in the period up to the year 2005. The point of departure in the economy, which is expected to work increasingly for man, continues to be oriented toward social goals. The national economy will develop on a fundamentally new scientific-technical and organizational-economic basis, under conditions of self-financing and self-management. Paramount importance has been attached to the machine-building complex, as well as to efforts to step up the production of equipment for the processing branches, and to increase the manufacture of consumer goods. Serious changes will take place in the structure of industrial production which will be oriented toward developing science-intensive branches with low consumption of electric power, fuel, materials, and water. It goes without saying that this will be of determining importance for improvements in the environment. In this way, the purpose of the economy is to provide better conditions for the harmonious development of the personality, and to perfect the socialist way of life.

While describing the international situation, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said that, as a member of the United Nations and of more than 70 international bodies belonging to a number of intergovernmental organizations, the Ukrainian SSR has consistently pursued the constructive foreign policy line drawn up by the CPSU and the Soviet Government.

Guided by the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine, and proceeding from the principle of defense sufficiency, our state has resolved to substantially reduce its armed forces. The results of the Vienna meeting that was concluded recently, as well as those of the Paris international conference on chemical weapons, have contributed to consolidating mutual confidence. Noticeable progress has also been made in settling regional conflicts. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has been completed.

The introduction of the new political thinking in the international arena has also been confirmed by the positive development of relations with the Peoples Republic of China. The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting next May will undoubtedly be highly important in improving these relations.

It goes without saying that the renunciation of the policy of confrontation, the numerical reduction of armed forces and of conventional and nuclear weapons are pushing aside the threat of war and freeing significant material and financial resources for developing the social sphere. In its appeal, the CPSU Central Committee has assured that our foreign policy will, by all means, continue to serve the main goal—guaranteeing peaceful living conditions for the present and coming generations of Soviet people.

In conclusion, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized: To ensure that restructuring gathers momentum, it is now essential to intensify practical work in all sectors. Wherever people have set about accomplishing the new tasks, as they say, with both hands, things are going well. Of course, this requires more responsibility and greater efforts from each of us in his or her post, at his or her workplace.

The main force of restructuring lies in the Communists and in all Soviet people. And no one will accomplish our outstanding problems for us. Only we ourselves, together and by concerted efforts, can and must overcome all the difficulties and achieve what has been planned. [passage omitted]

CPSU Urged To Foster Communists' Initiative

PM1603085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Unpunishable Initiative": "Restructuring Overturns Obsolete Concepts"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] More and more elements are being introduced into production relations. Economic accountability and self-financing, contracts and the lease system cannot coexist with procrastination and cold indifference. The quest for the most rational solutions in all things is a present-day imperative.

The times we live in are bringing to the fore people who are truly creative and capable of leading their comrades along untrodden paths. This is not easy, of course. But there is no other way today to achieve the desired results and win deep and sincere respect in collectives. [passage omitted]

Of course, it is not just the leader's initiative that provides the driving force. It is a quality that every working person requires, whatever he is engaged in. In the two associations we have been talking about [the "Novomoskovskoye" agroindustrial association and "Rotor" science and production association] most workers and specialists feel they are in charge of production. So they try to contribute as much as possible to its development. This is the objective of the entire system of mutual relations between people. Material and moral incentives are arranged there in that way. That is the way labor collectives' councils and other public organizations operate.

Initiative is by no means always something innate. It can and must be developed. When talking about this, one should highlight the crucial role of communists, party organizations, and committees. "Frankly, I cannot imagine a real communist without initiative and a sense of the new," V. Nemtsov writes to the editor from Chelyabinsk. "And every party organization has to be a generator of such valuable qualities."

I am sure everyone will agree that the development of initiative in the party milieu depends largely on the atmosphere that has been generated there. If there is comradely consideration for one another, if there is interest in fruitful ideas and their immediate implementation, there can be no doubt that the party organization will operate with vigor and produce the right results.

Unfortunately, this atmosphere has not been generated everywhere. Much time has now passed since report and election party meetings and conferences ended. They were addressed by hundreds and thousands of communists. Shortcomings were criticized and proposals were made on improvements. On the basis of this the relevant decisions, reservoirs of collective thought, were taken. But it appears that many party organizations are in no hurry to carry them out. As a result people are losing heart: Why act, when nothing gets past the document stage?

It is really too bad when someone who has made a just criticism encounters a negative reaction to it. There are still frequent instances of harassment and persecution for criticism. It is appropriate to ask the question: Why? After all, it is written in the party statutes that people guilty of suppressing criticism must be severely penalized by the party, with possible expulsion from the CPSU. Indeed, this is so. But just try to remember an occasion when this very important provision of the statutes has been put into practice. You probably do not remember. Is that not why the editorial mailbag frequently contains calls for help such as: come and look into it and help restore justice?

In present-day conditions initiative must contribute to improving the financial health of the economy and establishing the most rational methods of management. At the moment unprofitable enterprises and organizations are losing R11 billion per year. Wage leveling and the free-ride mentality are particularly deep-rooted here. In order to extirpate them it is necessary to considerably increase economic responsibility for the results of labor by improving organization and pay, so that every working person can really feel the close link between his material prosperity and the financial state of the enterprise.

The tasks set by restructuring are complex and varied. The only way to help solve them everywhere is to adopt a creative approach. Let it be a firm rule for every party organization to give initiative party backing!

* Return of Solzhenitsyn to 'Motherland' Urged

18120060 Moscow 20TH CENTURY AND PEACE
in English No 1 Jan 89 pp 4-7

[Article by Boris Mozhayev: "Serious Time"]

[Text] It is absurd that Alexander Solzhenitsyn still cannot have his works published in our country and lives in an out-of-the-way state of America instead of here at home. There's perhaps no other Soviet writer who has done so much for perestroyka and today's glasnost as A. Solzhenitsyn. All his works, written and published when he was living in his native country, are an angry protest against distortions of legality, against bureaucracy and arbitrariness, variations on the Modern Boyar system, so to speak.

His works "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich", "Matryona's Yard", "Incident at Krechetovka Station", " For the Good of the Cause" are literary masterpieces highly appreciated at one time by our leading writers and critics—K. Chukovsky, S. Marshak, A. Tvardovsky and others. He didn't receive the Lenin Prize just for a slanderous statement at the session of the prize-awarding committee. The accusation that during the war Solzhenitsyn collaborated with the Nazis, was refuged the next day by Tvardovsky who read out the decision of the Board of the USSR Supreme Court on the exoneration of A. Solzhenitsyn.

Solzhenitsyn's appeal "Let's not live by a lie" is the best proof of the writer's long-standing struggle for democracy and glasnost. This document expresses the idea of glasnost and outlines its main principles: not to lie, that is, to speak the truth only and whatever. Herein lies the essence of our glasnost and perestroika. It is high time to publish another document—Solzhenitsyn's letter to the congress of writers.

It contains the same passionate appeal and brilliant proof that glasnost is necessary. Typed out in about 300 copies, it was posted to writers. I also received this letter at the proper time. Rereading it now, I feel the same fit of excitement from impatience. I had an itch to strike at the table and cry out: "How dare you shut us up and turn our literature from the trumpet call of the people's revelation into an instrument of bureaucratic wilfulness!"

Some people are scared by the categoric tone of Solzhenitsyn's letter to the congress of writers: "Seek the abolition of any covert or overt censorship over works of art." Don't be afraid. It concerns our censorship in general but censorship on "works of art", i.e. on the imaginary system, imagery, social moral and philosophical thought. And this censorship has actually been removed. As for censorship on pornography, state and military secrets and so on, it existed and still exists almost in all countries.

At that time, Solzhenitsyn and many of us had no idea that, apart from official Glavlit, there are many well-wishers from different departments, and from our Union of Writers, ready to wipe out not only glasnost but also the memory of it. And not only at that time. Even today, providing us with free unlimited subscription for a year only, they were about to pull a slip-knot on our glasnost: Dozens and hundreds of attempts were made to cut subscription quota for newspapers and magazines enjoying particular popularity in the country's cultural centres.

No less surprising, to put it mildly, is M. Shatrov's recent statement in the November "Ogonyok" magazine: "Alexander Solzhenitsyn does not accept the October Revolution and Bolshevism as a trend of revolutionary thought, it is their determined and overt opponent..."

M. Shatrov probably forgets that Solzhenitsyn is not a politician, not a member of the Party of Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries or monarchists but a writer. He must criticize any regime. He is a citizen of the USSR. During the Great Patriotic War he fought valiantly for four years at the front. So, when he fought for Soviet power, he "accepted" the revolution, and when he began to criticize it, he stopped "accepting". This is a statement worthy of Kozma Prutkov. You could also accuse Lenin of not accepting the October Revolution because he resolutely criticized its initial period—war communism and the surplus-appropriation system. And he not only criticized it, he made a sharp turn towards NEP [New Economic Policy] and cooperation. Certain knights of left-wing communism called it apostasy from the ideals of a whole class. After Lenin's death, they achieved their aim and turned again towards the surplus-appropriation system. This is what the abolition of glasnost and criticism leads to.

But let's get back to Solzhenitsyn. The Presidium of the Writers' Union Congress turned down the proposal of many writers (V. Konetsky, G. Vladimov, V. Tendryakov and others) to discuss the letter. But we writers—more than 200—received this letter, discussed it in the congress lobby, in hotels, at the Central Club of Writers and in the editorial office of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA... It was a citizen's proud and frank challenge to those in the Union of Writers, who helped the supporters of Stalinism and those behind the stagnation period put society in chains.

At the congress, the pressure of reciprocal movement of our souls, was so strong that those in charge raising an uproar at the sessions didn't dare utter even a word condemning Solzhenitsyn. But they picked holes in him at the subsequent "narrow" sessions of the Secretariat. He was censured for his novels "Cancer Ward" and "The First Circle", secretly published abroad without the consent of the author, about which Solzhenitsyn made a statement in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. But that didn't help either. He was secretly expelled from the Union of Writers (in Ryazan, by four votes of obscure writers).

Then there was a ballyhoo round the Nobel Prize awarded him. This actually was reminiscent of the harsh treatment of B. Pasternak.

By the way, I know very well that Solzhenitsyn himself, foreseeing these excesses following presentation of the Nobel Prize, wrote a letter to M. Suslov in which he suggested that they meet and discuss the measures that should be taken so that the prize-awarding ceremony would not be used to the detriment of our state. The conditions advanced by Solzhenitsyn were extremely modest: to publish as a separate book the stories and tales brought out earlier in our magazines; lift the ban on the publication of "Cancer Ward"; publish "August 1914", a patriotic work in which (in the first version) no mention was ever made of the activity of Social-Democrats, where criticism was mainly concentrated on the General Headquarters.

It was also mentioned in this letter that he, Solzhenitsyn, had not forgotten how M. Suslov heartily congratulated him on his success at the reception held for writers in N. S. Khrushchev's residence; how the writer asked for permission to publish the word "God" with a capital letter because, at that time, in August 1914, nobody wrote in this way. In that letter there was even the condition that he doesn't insist on an early publication of his novel "The First Circle", or hope that the time for it would come.

I know he took that letter to the reception room of the CPSU Central Committee and handed it in with his signature, on the name of Suslov. He waited hopefully for a reply but didn't get one.

When the Nobel Prize Committee decided to present the prize to Solzhenitsyn in his Moscow flat (he didn't want to travel to Sweden for fear he wouldn't be allowed to return), he compiled a list of guests for the occasion. Among those invited were Ye. Furtseva, Minister of Culture of the USSR; P. Demichev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, academicians, artists, composers and writers. The prize-awarding ceremony in Moscow didn't take place...

There is hardly any need to remember how mud was flung at him before his deportation? It is hard to say who didn't participate in this... Unfortunately, most of those who abused him were members of our Writers' Union. By the way, Solzhenitsyn was forced to publish "The Gulag Archipelago". I know it for sure. He intended to publish it only after 1984. Again, a striking premonition of perestroika.

Well, what is there now to prevent us from giving back his USSR citizenship and lifting the ban on publication of his works about the motherland? The fact that he criticized our regime while abroad? But we, too, criticize it, and sometimes even more severely than Solzhenitsyn. Incidentally, he criticized not only our government system, but with, similar valour and frenzy, Britain and, especially, the United States. American papers and radio admitted that nobody had subjected America to such criticism throughout its history.

But the US Administration didn't even consider making him leave America, although, for them, he is an alien. Does it mean that capitalists are kinder than us? Or, are we more unforgiving? I would advise those trying to quote the sharp expressions of Solzhenitsyn against our system to read, say, Mr. Gorky's "Inopportune Thoughts" or I. Bunin's "Cursed Days". Perhaps, they even used more severe criticism. Our state didn't collapse as a result... Just imagine our literature without Gorky and Bunin. Nonsensical, just as nonsensical as our literature is without Ivan Shmelyov, Vasily Rozanov, Boris Zaitsev, Viktor Nekrasov, Georgi Vladimov, Vladimir Voinovich and many others. As for Alexander Solzhenitsyn, today, there is no writer in the entire world literature, who could be compared with him. He is our pride and glory, and his place is here, in the motherland. It is time to realize the simple truth that in literature (and elsewhere), we need leaders and not bureaucrats. These are serious times.

KGB's Investigative Process Described, Examined

In Response to Readers' Letters

PM1003152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Part one of three-part article by Major General of Justice V. Provotorov, senior assistant, chief military prosecutor's office, and own correspondent Captain 2d Class S. Turchenko: "KGB Investigates. How State Security Organs Work Today."]

[Text] Following the publication of the essay "Rising Up Against Illegality" in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (5 February 1988), the editorial office has received many letters asking how the law is followed these days during KGB investigations, whether the KGB is subject to monitoring by prosecutors, and, if so, how effective it is.

Quite frankly, it is hard to carry out this mission given us by our readers. For well-known reasons any KGB subunit is reliably hidden from prying eyes, otherwise it could not do its job properly. But since one of us is a prosecutor's office staffer and the other an officer with the appropriate clearance, the leadership of the USSR KGB's Investigations Department allowed us to familiarize ourselves with the work of this subunit of the state security organs.

Building 3A on Energeticheskaya Street in Moscow is probably subject to close attention from many intelligence services. For instance, not so long ago people in a car with a diplomatic license plate attempted to photograph it. But it is unlikely the photographs were useful. Not only because the building is almost completely closed off from the street by a number of apartment blocks, but also because outwardly the USSR KGB Investigations Department building is not at all remarkable: It is a yellow, three-story building with subtle, although quite original, architecture. It is commonly known as the Lefortovo Prison. Indeed, it was one of the 16 jails built under Catherine II (it is said that from the air they all resemble the letter "K"—for "Katerina.") Today there is no jail as such on the site: Along with the investigations department the building houses some interview cells [sledstvennyy izolyator], which will be discussed later.

After a close inspection of our papers, a state security officer accompanied us to the administrative level up a narrow stairwell carefully covered over for understandable reasons with metal wire.

The same day we talked in detail with several USSR KGB Investigations Department staffers. For understandable reasons we cannot mention many of their names. But it is worthwhile reproducing the conversations since they answer many readers' questions about the state security organs' past and present.

Readers' letters probably ask most about what KGB representatives—formally the successors of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD]—think about the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties. We will quote specific answers from specific people later. For the moment we will just stress that it is hardly fair to use only NKVD staffers to illuminate illegality and repression. Such things happened at all levels of power. As for the NKVD, it contained the most diverse people. There were also many who tried to oppose illegality. It is well known that the Cheka old guard was systematically eliminated from the late twenties onward. Here are a few of their names: Roman Aleksandrovich Pilyar. He was a well-known Chekist and took part in the work led by Artuzov to neutralize Savinkov and the British spy Reilly in the twenties. In the thirties Pilyar headed the Saratov NKVD Administration. He resolutely opposed Yezhov's pressure to arrest virtually the entire staff of the Saratov leadership, who, without any proof, had been accused of hostile actions. Pilyar himself was soon arrested and accused of "espionage and terrorist activities." Artur Khristianovich Artuzov, an outstanding Soviet Chekist, was also arrested and shot on the same trumped-up charges. Unjustified repressions were opposed by Volkov, chief of the Vinnitsa Oblast NKVD Administration; Kapustin, chief of the Dzhambul Oblast NKVD Administration; Deribas, chief of the Far Eastern Kray NKVD Administration.... According to incomplete calculations, a total of more than 20,000 staffers were repressed. This deadly scythe mowed down the best people. Their places were taken by those who matched the bloody requirements of Stalin's command and administrative system.

During these years the NKVD lacked legal figures such as prosecutors. An investigations unit was created later.

In 1954 departments were divided, the MVD was set up on its own, and the KGB was set up under the USSR Council of Ministers. The KGB set up an investigations apparatus comprising investigations unit staffers who had not tarnished their reputations, but mainly young people—law school graduates. This injection of new blood made it possible to rapidly eschew the distortions of the past in investigative practice and take on board the democratic ideas of the 20th party congress.

The KGB's investigative apparatus is now a subunit guided in its activities by Soviet laws and under the supervision of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and, to a certain extent, the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office.

In the past a great deal of harm was done by the adherence of those conducting investigations to the "ultimate in proof" (charges based on admissions of guilt). Naturally, our first question to the KGB investigators concerned their attitude toward this approach today. In practice it was debunked by the 20th party congress, and since then lawyers and legal experts have had an unambiguous attitude toward it. Testimony by the accused is undoubtedly a source of evidence even today. But no one type of evidence can prevail over any other; they should all be assessed together. Nowadays nobody would dream of basing a charge on a mere admission of guilt—the case could disintegrate in court at any moment.

We also inquired as to whether investigators feel any pressure—time pressure or official pressure—while conducting investigations. Each investigator works within the framework of the law, which also sets time restrictions. Under criminal legislation preliminary investigations should be concluded within 2 months. They can only be prolonged if sanctioned by the oblast prosecutor or a higher official. The USSR general prosecutor cannot allow people to be remanded in custody any longer than 9 months.

Readers are entitled to ask whether everything really goes that smoothly. Do KGB investigators ever make any mistakes? Sometimes, of course. But the point is that there can now be nothing similar to the distortions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties. Of course, there are shortcomings in work today too. These mostly can be put down to a lack of experience on the part of certain investigators, or sometimes to lack of conscientiousness. Faulty assessments of crimes is a widespread shortcoming. Take the following specific case of violation of foreign-exchange operations regulations, for instance: Due to a lack of competence the investigator thought there was evidence from a witness and from the accused himself to the effect that he not only bought up foreign exchange but speculated in it. The investigator drew up a charge based on Article 88, Part 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. But then the case came to court. After studying the evidence the court changed the charge and sentenced the accused for a crime covered by Article 88, Part 1, which carries a different sanction. It turned out that the investigator had incorrectly evaluated the evidence before him. Such cases are isolated (the main thing is that it is not the system's fault). But investigators have no right to allow even these incidents to occur.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office watches out for shortcomings and quickly remedies them. This is one of the guarantees that the law will be observed and mistakes avoided in investigations.

At the KGB Investigations Department we were able to study a specific criminal case for use in the press.

But before discussing it we should stress one detail that will interest readers: During our entire stay in the Investigations Department neither of us was left unattended by KGB staffers for a single second. And not because they did not trust us: It is just that there are no exceptions to the rules there; they carry out instructions to the letter—that is their style!

The investigators were noticeably polite, educated, and approachable. We had interesting and candid conversations with many of them. But all of those we spoke with ultimately stressed that the conversation could only be used in the press with the permission of their superiors. We have to respect that demand. We will discuss the statements by today's investigators later; for the moment, a small digression.

Extract From a Conversation Between the Authors

[Turchenko] Vladimir Grigoryevich, given the secrecy that reigns in the KGB, I can't even imagine how the Prosecutor's Office—particularly the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office—monitors the activities of KGB investigators.

[Provotorov] The USSR Prosecutor's Office has a department to ensure observance of the law during preliminary investigations by USSR KGB organs and the hearing of these cases in the courts. There is a similar department at the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office. As soon as a criminal case is initiated, a specific prosecutor's office staffer is ordered to ensure that the law is observed during the investigation. He constantly liaises with the investigators. Of course, the investigator is an independent figure: All decisions pertaining to the direction the investigation takes and the adoption of procedural measures are made independently, except in cases where the law makes provision for a prosecutor's sanction to be obtained.

[Turchenko] All this is very important, of course. However, in terms of organizational structure, prosecutor's supervision existed in the thirties too, but it was no reliable barrier to tyranny. What guarantees are there now?

[Provotorov] As a senior assistant at the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office, as well as being chief of the department charged with ensuring that KGB organs comply with the law during preliminary investigations, I can assure you that the investigative apparatus' entire operational system largely guarantees observance of socialist legality: Above all, investigators strive to investigate crimes comprehensively, fully, and objectively. The KGB leadership itself constantly monitors observance of the law in the investigations apparatus. Workers in this apparatus are Communists, and the overwhelming majority of them are competent specialists and working people. Party influence on them, particularly during the period of restructuring, is a highly important guarantee of an honest and principled attitude toward the job. One more point: Prosecutor's supervision has also changed fundamentally since with the thirties. Today it promotes to a considerable extent observance of the law during an investigation and the forestalling of violations. To see this for ourselves, let's look at a specific case....

Case of Soviet Spy Related

PM1303124189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Second part of article by Major General of Justice V. Provotorov, senior assistant, chief military prosecutor's office, and own correspondent Captain 2d Class S. Turchenko: "KGB Investigates. How State Security Organs Work Today"]

[Text] In August 1985 the KGB organs in Moscow arrested Lieutenant Colonel Stanin and his wife Svetlana Ivanovna for their links with U.S. intelligence. During the search a diary was discovered in the possession of the detained people with data on the schedule for meetings with U.S. intelligence officers and the nature of the information passed on to them, and with the Americans' instructions for the collection of secret information. Many entries attested to Stanin's ideological degeneration.

The day after the detention the question of the authorization to arrest the detained Stanins was decided in the office of the chief military prosecutor. The documents and material evidence of the crime did not give grounds for doubt; the chief military prosecutor was concerned about something else.

"But have you ensured the fulfillment of article 98 of the RSFSR code of criminal procedure," he asked the KGB investigator.

The article demanded that upon arresting the accused, if the latter has underage children, the investigator should hand them over to the charge of relations or other people or institutions and take measures to protect their property. The investigator made sure even before the detention that the Stanins' underage child and property were under the supervision of Svetlana Ivanovna's parents, which he reported to the chief military prosecutor. The latter authorized the arrest.

During the investigation Stanin admitted his espionage link with the U.S. intelligence, surrendered items of espionage equipment, and gave detailed indications about how he established the link with the U.S. special services at his own initiative in the following circumstances.

...In October 1983, Lieutenant Colonel Arnold Iosifovich Stanin, assistant military attache at the USSR Embassy in a European country, telephoned the U.S. Embassy. He asked for the U.S. military attache to come to the telephone. A pleasant woman's voice replied that the colonel would not be there today. A few days later Stanin telephoned again, and then again: The reply was the same.

Then the lieutenant colonel wrote a letter, got into his Citroen, and drove around several times to make sure he was not being followed. Then he set off for the suburb, where he personally dropped a letter into the mail box of the U.S. military attache's villa.

In his letter Stanin announced that he was a worker at the Soviet Embassy and possessed information which might be of interest to the U.S. intelligence organs. He also named the price for this information—tens and tens of thousands of dollars. Stanin then scheduled a meeting, whose time and venue were to be set by publishing in the local newspaper an announcement containing an agreed phrase.

Without waiting for an answer (it turned out later that the Americans were so flabbergasted that they regarded the message from the Soviet assistant military attache as provocative), in December 1983 Stanin again telephoned the embassy. This time they agreed to a meeting. It took place in January 1984 at the U.S. colonel's villa. There Stanin made the acquaintance of a CIA staffer. They reached preliminary agreement on the terms of espionage activity and remuneration and on methods of liaison.

On 1 March 1984 Stanin had a secret meeting with a CIA representative in a suburban hotel. Stanin gave a written undertaking to cooperate with the U.S. intelligence and received dollars in a considerably smaller sum, incidentally, then he had requested, for information which he unhesitatingly provided for his new masters. In all, from March 1984 through August 1985, in accordance with a prearranged schedule, there were 30 such clandestine meeting with CIA staffers.

On 3 March 1984 Svetlana Ivanovna Stanina went with her husband to a clandestine meeting. On the same day she was recruited as a CIA agent. It is true that, luckily for her, she was unable to pass on to the Americans any information of any value. Her husband was the main protagonist. In the event of immediate recall to the Soviet Union he received a complete set of espionage requisites (they included spectacles whose ear piece contained an ampule with a fast-acting poison) and detailed instructions on his further activity. All this was filed as material evidence.

But none of the enemy special services' tricks to maintain liaison with their agent ensured his invulnerability. The skilled actions of the Soviet counterintelligence officers made it possible to neutralize the spy promptly.

Having examined the charges against the Stanins from 25 June through 1 July 1986, the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium found them guilty of committing a crime stipulated by point "a" of article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and sentenced A.I. Stanin to death. As for his wife, taking into account her sincere repentance, her active assistance in uncovering the crime, the fact that she was drawn into espionage activity by her husband, that before the crime she had had positive character references, and that she had to care for an underage daughter and parents in need of assistance, the court sentenced her to 5 years' imprisonment in a strict-regime corrective labor colony.

From the authors' conversation:

"Vladimir Grigoryevich, but this case is not instructive. No prosecutor's office supervision was necessary here: It was clear immediately that they were spies!"

"Don't rush to conclusions. Let's look at it in the right order. First, was there sufficient proof to convict them of a state crime? Everything would seem to be clear, each person confessed to what he had done. But other evidence was also needed: This evidence turned out to be the espionage equipment, the valuables found in the Stanins' possession, the diary entries made by Stanin regarding the nature of the information passed on to the Americans, and the experts' conclusions that this information constituted state and military secrets. The investigators carried out precisely those measures necessary to collect, consolidate, and check evidence, to establish the causes and conditions which promoted the committing of the crime, and also mitigating and aggravating circumstances. Second, the case is instructive for us in that the investigator retained his independence during the investigation and the prosecutor ensured professional leadership of the examination. During the investigation of complex, confused crimes, collaboration is intensified...."

"But we should also be shown as an example a situation in which the investigators do have doubts...."

"The work of the KGB organs today differs fundamentally from, for instance, the activity of the NKVD. At any rate people in our country are not now taken in, as they say, on the basis of sheer suspicion alone—indisputable proof of crime is needed. But I want to return to our case. There is a third reason why I regard it as quite instructive—the work which the investigation organs performed in conjunction with the prosecutor's office to reveal and halt the reasons which caused the crime to be committed. Let's take another look at the case from this viewpoint."

The reader has already grown accustomed to the idea that treason should have social roots. In this case that is not so. Stanin came from a simple family with many children. His father worked as a rural feldscher, his mother as a school cleaner. They raised eight children. Seven were honest, respectable workers. But the eighth.... The eighth was at first the pride of the family. He graduated from military school and became an officer. Then he graduated from the Academy and began to climb the career ladder, and was sent to serve abroad. A good career. And suddenly it all fell to pieces. Why? Briefly we can say that Stanin's fall was helped by the atmosphere which took shape around him, compounded by his personal inclinations—careerism, envy, a penchant for money-grubbing, and egocentrism....

We examined the case with Colonel Viktor Stepanovich Vasilenko, a worker from the investigation department. And he remarked in passing:

"If they had written the truth in their character references, Stanin would not have committed the crime. He simply would have been unable to do so because he would never have been taken on for such responsible work. What is interesting is that Stanin's true face began to appear officially only during the investigation. And his colleagues—bosses and subordinates—described him vividly. That is, even earlier they had a very good idea of what kind of man he was, but they preferred to write formally safe character references."

The investigation documents also clearly describe other reasons why the committing of this grave crime became possible. We shall cite them briefly.

1. Sending Stanin abroad on business using string-pulling, without considering his moral and professional qualities. An explanation is needed here. Stanin had a patron—a general who, in return for small services and toadying, carried his protege, so to speak, getting him post after post for which the latter was not suited.

2. Loss of vigilance and talkativeness on the part of individual colleagues of Stanin's, which enabled him to collect important information.

3. The absence of proper control over the work of some of our specialists abroad, which in this case made it possible to go to espionage meetings and so forth on the pretext of performing official duties.

On all these points measures were taken in response by the prosecutor's office regarding the relevant officials. And that is also an important aspect of the prosecutor's office's supervision.

And one more point must be mentioned. You know, of course, how the children of the "enemies of the people" were treated in the thirties, forties, and fifties. The NKVD's deadly scythe cut them down after their parents. In this case the picture is the opposite: The investigation team which worked with the Stanins is to this day, at its own initiative, acting as it were as patron of their small daughter, protecting her from the shadow of her parents' crime ever—God forbid—falling on her fate. The investigators unanimously demanded from us that the family's real name be changed (which we have done). After all, this is instructive too. This, after all, also characterizes those who work today in the USSR KGB investigation apparatus.

Lefortovo Prison Facility Described

PM1603101589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Third and final part of article by Major General of Justice V. Provotorov, senior assistant, chief military prosecutor's office, and own correspondent Captain 2d Class S. Turchenko: "KGB Investigates. How State Security Organs Work Today"]

[Text] When we talk about the unlawful actions of the thirties and forties and the beginning of the fifties maybe the first thing we note is the gross violations in investigatory practice, and arbitrary imprisonment. Nocturnal interrogations, torture, and beatings are increasingly becoming known to us now. And, naturally, the terror of the past spills over to concern about the present. This is why we cannot fail, if briefly, to talk about the KGB's high-security investigation facility (known in popular parlance as Lefortovo Prison).

I should say right away that the high-security facility is in no way included in the organizational structure of the KGB's Investigation Department and is subordinate to the USSR KGB leadership. That is, the investigators not only cannot have the slightest influence on the way those in their charge are kept under guard, they cannot even go into the cell. This is one of the guarantees that the investigator, even if he wanted to, cannot have any illegal influence on the person arrested. If it is taken into account that many interrogations are recorded on video, which is always at the prosecutor's disposal, then the above-mentioned guarantee is even more reliable.

The high-security facility is a K-shaped, three-story building which houses only those arrested for cases being investigated by KGB organs (spying, smuggling, and others). The cells, as a rule, house three people (it is considered inhuman to have one suspect per cell). They are quite spacious, with a normal microclimate. There are little bedside tables, tables, chairs, and shelves with books. The people under investigation have the opportunity to use quite an extensive library, and they receive the central newspapers.

The high-security facility has its own galley where qualified civilian cooks prepare the food. Those in custody are given three square meals a day. In addition, those who have their own personal account can use a special stall where they can obtain additional items for a fixed sum per month. Those arrested have the right to receive from relatives up to 5 kg of food per month, and also any clothes.

The health unit, which has entirely modern medical equipment, is at the disposal of those in the high-security facility. Where necessary, specialists from other medical establishments are invited for consultations. Once a week those under investigation have their linen changed, and each of them can take a shower.

Every day those in the high-security facility take walks around the inner courtyard.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office supervises the investigation facility. Every month the assistant to the USSR General Prosecutor together with his subordinates conducts prosecutor's checks here: inspecting the cells, examining and talking with those under arrest, monitoring all kinds of services, and so on.

Of course, we realize that the picture we have drawn may seem too idyllic. But we are writing about what exists. For example, the not unknown Rust was kept in the Lefortovo high-security facility. In an interview with Soviet and foreign journalists after he was released he stressed that he served his sentence in conditions which can be created only in a highly civilized and humane state.

Of course, we do not need compliments from this kind of person. The regime in the high-security facility is determined in accordance with our laws, and it by no means testifies to excessive mildness. The fact that no one has ever escaped from the Lefortovo high-security facility speaks for itself. Here the law is observed comprehensively and firmly.

The safeguarding of legality during an investigation by KGB organs undoubtedly depends on what kind of people work there, what they think about the past and present, and how they perceive restructuring. So, we would like to acquaint readers with some of those who are now working in the USSR KGB Investigation Department, and interview them briefly.

Colonel Viktor Stepanovich Vasilenko.

After serving in the Army he graduated from the law faculty of Tomsk State University, then worked as an investigator in the organs of the prosecutor's office, and since 1977 has worked in the USSR KGB Investigation Department. One of his major cases was the "diamond" case (the theft of more than 1,000 diamonds from a certain jewelry enterprise). Thanks to coordinated work by a group of investigators led by Vasilenko, about R7 million was returned to the state. Then there were cases of people who had betrayed the country—butchers who served the Nazis during the Great Patriotic War—and "smuggling" and other cases investigated by state security organs. Not so long ago he took part in investigating the treacherous activity of one of the most highly paid agents of foreign intelligence in the history of spying.

"How is restructuring progressing in the KGB investigation organs?" Viktor Stepanovich repeated the question. "The key question is glasnost; there is no democracy without it. For us this has particular significance, because over recent decades the state security organs' work has largely remained a 'blank' spot. What progress has been made? 'Our' rubrics have appeared in some newspapers. For example, 'The KGB reports and Comments' in the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. We are appearing significantly more frequently in the pages of other newspapers. There is this item in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—it can be said, the first attempt to show the work of the KGB Investigation Department to the entire country. In addition, movies are now being made using the examples of specific criminal cases.

"The attitude of today's state security officials to the lawless Stalinist times is unambiguous," Viktor Stepanovich stressed. "We are at one with the entire people in condemning them. And we have one concern in common with everyone—not to tolerate a single grain of arbitrariness and lawlessness today or in the future. In this respect I can assure you that these days the principle of presumption of innocence has been firmly established in investigatory practice: Everything that is not proved, wherever there is the slightest doubt, is interpreted in the accused's favor. And further: We are striving for well coordinated cooperation between prosecutor's office supervision and the investigation apparatus. And only on the basis of the law."

Major Valeriy Nikolayevich Konkov.

He graduated from the KGB Higher School. He has been working in the USSR KGB Investigation Department since 1977. He has taken part in many investigation activities in recent years to put a stop to spying activities.

"To be honest," Valeriy Nikolayevich told us, "our relations with those being investigated may seem strange to some people. We can talk about the most varied subjects. We try to find the best characteristics in those in our charge and we carry out the investigation relying on these. This is also important in order to help the person to be fully aware of what he has done, to speak out, to unburden himself, and also in order to understand how to prevent such crimes. If all this is measured against the methods of conducting investigations in Stalinist times, then it becomes clear that there can be no question of any analogies."

We left the KGB Investigation Department with the firm conviction that people are working there who are concerned by what concerns all of us. The black pages of our past also distresses them. They also have a great desire to restructure their work but, like all of us, are not finding it easy to do so. And they are also hoping for a better future for us. This, of course, is still not a full guarantee that legality will never be flouted in any circumstances within these walls even where trifling matters are at issue. The guarantee lies in ensuring that not only the prosecutor's office but also the party and people's supervision of KGB investigators' work, as well as all other aspects of life in our common home—the USSR—is implemented constantly. This supervision can take different forms (probably, their emergence is still to come): both a deputies' group in the USSR Supreme Soviet with special powers, and corresponding efforts by the Party

Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.... But it is no less important that glasnost should come to the USSR KGB Investigation Department (taking into account the specific nature of its work, of course). And the fact that today zones which just yesterday were "restricted" are being opened before readers' eyes, inspires hope.

MVD Releases Figures on Prison Colonies Population

PM1503141389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Illesh report under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Who Is Imprisoned in the Colonies and Why?"]

[Text] Another step has been taken along the road of glasnost—the USSR MVD Main Administration for Correctional Cases has given the editorial office statistics revealing the current situation in the colonies. Many of these figures are being published for the first time.

So, who is now behind bars?

The age range is as follows: People below the age of 25, aged 24-55, and aged 55-60 comprise 27.4 percent, 67.2 percent, and 4.4. percent respectively of all prisoners. Some 1 percent of all prisoners are aged over 60.

The opinion has, alas, long been firmly entrenched in our society that our country's laws are "too humane" and that courts have a lenient approach to criminals. Is that the case? The figures show the opposite: The largest number of prisoners (36.7 percent) are serving terms of 5-10 years, and 9 percent of convicts have committed crimes for which they have been sentenced to 10-15 years (the maximum) behind barbed wire. Some 1.7 percent are serving 1 year. And 21.4 percent are serving 1-3 years. Some 30.6 percent are serving 3-5 years. Only 0.5 percent have been sentenced to less than 1 year's imprisonment.

What is the most common crime? Crime against personal property—statistics affirm. This kind of criminal activity accounts for 16.9 percent of all "prisoners" now in correctional labor establishments. Surprising though it may be, virtually the same number of people are serving time for such a supposedly widespread crime as hooliganism (that is the view of public opinion) as for murder. The percentage correlation reads as follows: hooliganism, 11.8 percent; premeditated murder, 11.5 percent. Then crimes are divided into the following "spread": deliberate grievous bodily harm, 10.1 percent. Theft of state property, 9.8 percent. Rape, 8.6 percent. Robbery, 6.5 percent. Larceny, 5.7 percent. Embezzlement of state property, 2 percent. One can draw many conclusions by summing up the statistics for crimes against the individual (robbery, larceny, murder, rape, and so on). But, in my opinion, the first and main one is that our society must protect people first and foremost—you and me. Bearing in mind how an injured party is sometimes deprived of juridical rights, we must defend him all the more.

It is clear that there are many young people in jail. We find this kind of information particularly alarming. That is understandable, since they are the "future" of crime, or at any rate the stratum from which the world of crime likes to draw its reserves and reproduce. We can cite absolute figures here: In 88 educational labor colonies there are approximately 30,000 juvenile delinquents, including 1,400 girls.

The question is as follows: Is the number of people who see the colony as a refuge increasing? Figures indicate that in the last 3 years (this is primarily linked with the amnesty) the number of prisoners in correctional labor colonies fell by 40 percent. Notably the number of women fell by a factor of 2.1 and the number of juveniles sentenced to spend time in educational labor colonies fell by 45 percent. In 1988 more than 100 colonies were closed or reoriented into treatment and labor clinics (IZVESTIYA has frequently written about their problems recently).

But the following cannot fail to prompt caution: Last year 33,000 people released from correctional labor colonies were unable to find a job or accommodation more than 3 months after their release. This figure was one-third (!) in 1987. Specialists link the attitude to former convicts with the fact that many enterprises switching to economic accountability [khozraschet] have begun to take a "stricter" view of cadre selection. Maybe that is good for specific enterprises, but it is a sorry trend for society as a whole. Since these people often have only one way out—more crime, and jail again.

Finally, what is the crime rate like in the colonies themselves?

Last year convicts committed more than 3,600 crimes, including 238 premeditated killings, 437 cases of grievous bodily harm, 426 cases of hooliganism, 245 cases of resisting administration representatives, and 66 cases of attacks on correctional labor establishment personnel and taking of hostages from their number.

It has proved possible in the same period, owing to the efforts of correctional labor establishment administrations, to prevent 34,580 crimes in conception and under preparation in colonies. What sort of crimes? For instance, 884 cases of physical reprisals and killings have been stopped. Some specialists associate these grim cases (and the deterioration of the situation within the colonies in general) with convicts' misunderstanding of the measures to democratize the life of correctional labor establishments. Even if that is the case, I am convinced that there is no going back and that the method of tightening the screws must not be employed today. The democratization of society is the only way to improve our life, and the colonies, regrettable as it may be, are also part of our life.

The aforementioned figures do not, of course, expose the entire complex range of problems that exists today in the Soviet penal system. But commentaries by no means aspire to reveal the ultimate truth. These are only elements in the portrayal of correctional labor establishments, where substantial changes are planned soon: It is planned to radically revise correctional labor legislation and the detention of ordinary criminals.... IZVESTIYA intends to publish a conversation with I. Katargin, chief of the Main Administration for Correctional Affairs and member of the USSR MVD Collegium.

'Thousands' of Russians Demonstrate in Tallinn

LD1503163689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Tallinn, 15 Mar (TASS)—Tens of thousands of people, mainly representatives of union-level major enterprises, gathered Tuesday at a meeting at the City Hall. It was held at the initiative of a number of collectives and supported by the Joint Council of Work Collectives of the Estonian SSR (JCWC) and the Internationalist Movement of Working People. Both the JCWC and the Intermovement bring together mainly the Russian-speaking people of Estonia. The meeting was devoted to certain phenomena in the life of the republic, which a proportion of the Russian-speaking population see as discriminatory and offensive. Protests rang out specifically against certain clauses in the Estonian SSR law on language and the planned law on citizenship of the Estonian SSR.

Those taking part in the meeting demanded that a republican party conference be called, that the consideration and adoption of the republican draft laws which have been drawn up be postponed until the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on relations between nationalities is held, and that direct or oblique kindling of national discord be stopped. Appeals to the Estonian people and to the working people of the USSR were adopted.

Russian Criticizes Lithuanian Language Law

PM1503120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Letter from A. Zharik, Russian worker at Ignalina AES in Lithuania, followed by editorial comment and published under the rubric "Learning Democracy" and the headline "My Address Is Not a House Number and a Street Name...?"]

[Text] Rallies are nothing new today, but I would, nonetheless, like to tell you about a rally held at the settlement called Snechkus, and share my thoughts with you about how the rally came about and what the future holds for us. I would like to express a reservation straightaway. I am writing on my own behalf and expressing only my opinion, although it would not be difficult to collect two or three thousand signatures under my letter.

First of all, where and what is Snechkus. It is in Lithuania. And what is more, it is in a tourist area, the area of the national park, near Ignalina.

The first stone in the foundations of the city, and of the enterprise to which the city owes its existence, was laid by Antanas Snechkus, the then first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. People say that on that occasion, too, a rally was held, and the local newspapers were trying to outdo each other reporting it. That was the beginning of the construction of Ignalina AES...

It is not for me to decide whether the decision to build the AES was adopted under pressure from the center or on the initiative of the Lithuanian leadership. I have no idea whether Lithuanian scientists took part in compiling the technical and economic feasibility study for the construction of the nuclear power station. I, as a skilled worker, was asked to come here and help build the nuclear power station, and I responded to this call. Incidentally, I came from the Leningrad region; the place I left behind is in no way inferior to this. I need not have come, of course; they would have built the power station without me. But those times were characterized by the words of the song "My address is not a house number and a street name..." [the song continues: "My address is the Soviet Union"]. We came to create "Lithuania's nuclear sunshine," while Lithuanians went to help build the Baykal-Amur Railroad and develop oil deposits in Tyumen. Mobility and willingness to go wherever necessary were regarded as something akin to heroism, and it was not especially difficult to form the collective to build and run the nuclear power station.

As a result, of the 35,000 inhabitants of Snechkus, only 4 percent are Lithuanians. There are not many of them either among the station's 2,000-strong labor collective.

Over the past 10 years Snechkus has grown into an attractive city. Two of the station's power units are operational. They account for 49.3 percent of the republic's annual electricity production. To date, the power station has generated a total of 50 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity.

Having lived in Snechkus for more than 6 years now, I (and my family—a wife and two children) have never felt that we were being looked at askance by the people of this land, the Lithuanians. It is true that after the accident at Chernobyl AES, the attitude to nuclear power stations became critical. More and more often voices rang out claiming that it was madness to build a nuclear power station in a spot like this. Plans to increase capacity were given a hostile reception. Under pressure from the public, a decision to discontinue construction of the No 3 unit of the AES was adopted. Public opinion was changing swiftly to our disadvantage. In the past we were sort of heroes—we had built the AES—and now we are becoming antiheroes for the selfsame reason.

Several more months passed. Words that in previous years had clearly negative connotations—foreigners, occupiers, migrants, rootless "rolling stones"—began to crop up with increasing frequency in the press, which describes itself as a free press, at rallies, in television broadcasts, or simply in conversation... And always referring to non-Lithuanians. And although Snechkus is a small Russian-speaking town, an international city as to its composition and spirit, we all started feeling uncomfortable.

Then came the next stage—the proposal to close down the station. A proposal from the public, which today has a right to have its say in the republic and uses it. (Personally, I approve of this).

Again, I do not think that it is for me to judge what should be done with the AES, although I believe that the advocates of radical measures should not forget the following: If the nuclear power station is closed down today, Lithuania will be immediately placed on starvation rations for electricity supply. The shortfall will amount to around 3 billion kilowatt-hours. That's just the first point. It will take approximately 10 years to burn up the nuclear fuel, bury the waste, and make the station safe. And during all these years our station would be an important consumer rather than a producer of electricity. And what would that cost Lithuania in actual rubles?..

Even if it were possible to wave a magic wand to make Snechkus with the AES and the "occupiers" disappear from the map of Lithuania, something would remain nonetheless. What would remain would be 90 agricultural and sociocultural installations in various parts of the republic. In general, it must be stated that we were not tight-fisted "guests" (perhaps because we seriously regarded ourselves as one family with the indigenous population). For instance, in taxes alone our settlement has paid up around R30 million. I believe that it is not uninteresting to know that the settlement itself is worth around R220 million and the construction installations we have created are valued at R100 million.

However, since the psychological offensive has begun against the "occupiers" and "foreigners"—and that includes virtually all the AES' personnel—a mood characterized by a constant readiness to pack one's bags and leave at any moment has arisen and persists in our settlement. It is obviously no secret that nuclear power station specialists, and good ones at that, have always been and are in demand. The recruitment procedure is simple. The exodus has begun... At the same time, the safe operation of an AES is guaranteed above all by a stable, highly-skilled, and highly-disciplined collective. Tell me, can you have confidence in the reliability of a collective where the most popular topic of conversation is where to go and live next?

Of late, the situation has become particularly critical. The reason is the adoption first of a law and then a decree on the use of the state language by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. I have a number of questions in connection with these two documents.

In accordance with them, enterprises are obliged within 2 years to apply the state language not just in everyday communication but also for production purposes. Consequently, all nuclear power station documentation will have to pass through the hands and minds of translators. Most specialists are not likely to learn a language well enough in 2 years to keep the fiery nuclear horse in check. Does this mean that they will have to be replaced with Lithuanian specialists? But no such specialists are being trained in the republic at the moment, and it would take 10 years before they would be ready.

Question No 2: Without the possibility of studying in our mother tongue at the republic's VUZ's, without legislative guarantees concerning the use of the Russian language as a language of interethnic communication (and there is no mention of this in the aforementioned decree) what will become of us in 10-20 years? What will become of our children?

I understand that this is the only place where Lithuanians can exist as a nation. I also fully understand the need for Lithuanian to be granted the status of a state language. But I beg you to answer me: Why did no one tell me this when I arrived to build the AES? Were there no Lithuanians in Lithuania then? Or are these Lithuanians not answerable for the actions of those other Lithuanians? That is to say, why do the present reformers ignore the practice that has taken shape in interethnic and economic relations.

And now I would like to ask the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: How are people who do not speak Lithuanian but would like to learn the language to comply with the decree on the use of Lithuanian as a state language? There are no textbooks, no phrase books, no records or tapes of Linguaphone courses in the republic stores. Only once a week is there a Lithuanian language lesson on television. The legislators should, obviously, pay some attention to the actual circumstances, wouldn't you say?

The decree on the use of Lithuanian was received at our AES as follows: Some people proposed that the reactor be shut down and that a strike be called and continued "until victory," that is, until we, formerly welcomed guests, and now undesirable "foreigners," sorted out all the questions and received guarantees that our civic rights would be observed. It was not easy to avert this extreme course of action. Others proposed that a protest rally be held and our opinion made known to the republic Supreme Soviet and the whole of Lithuania.

The question is, where do we go from here, after the rally?

[Signed] Aleksandr Zharik, Ignalina AES fitter, Lithuanian SSR.

Editorial Comment: IZVESTIYA asked the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to comment on this letter. Unfortunately, we received a negative answer. We proceeded from the premise that people, and not just in Snechkus, are waiting for an answer to the questions raised in the letter. The author's stance is not beyond reproach either: What about the aforementioned 4 percent of Lithuanians who live in Snechkus and are unable to attend Lithuanian schools in their own homeland? Here the government is to be blamed not for nationalism but for neglecting its own people, deprived of their constitutional rights not somewhere in a settlement on the Baykal-Amur railroad, but just 90 minutes' journey from the republic capital.

The acuteness of the problem posed was also confirmed by a rally organized by "Yedinstvo" [Unity] and attended by thousands of people in Vilnius. The speeches of its participants did not always observe the proprieties, and the decision to hold 1-hour warning strikes at Russian speaking enterprises so the Lithuanian Government could get an idea of what a real strike would cost can hardly be rated as a measure befitting the times of restructuring. Incidentally, at a number of enterprises such strikes were actually staged...

The policy of "Sajudis," which has done a great deal to whip up not just interethnic tension but also hostility, was resolutely condemened at the latest session of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. A Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers resolution on measures to ensure the use of Lithuanian as a state language has been adopted. But problems remain and people have a right to expect a clear explanation from the republic government as to how they will be resolved.

Secrecy Blamed for Latvian Radiation Rumors

PM1503171089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[I. Litvinova report under the "Fact and Commentary" rubric: "How Rumors Arise"]

[Text] Riga—There is only one "cure" for rumors—trustworthy information and complete glasnost. This rule was confirmed once again by the tale of the "Radon" enterprise near Riga, in the village of Baldone. What "radioactive" rumors have reached the republic's inhabitants from there! A cancer epidemic is "decimating" the population. Infant mortality has reached an unprecedented scale. Rivers, forests, and fields have been poisoned. In sum, the center that buries the "Radon" enterprise's radioactive waste takes foreign waste in return for hard currency.

Alas, the "Chernobyl syndrome" also operated here, and there was a delay in the supply of honest and correct information. Biased articles in the press also added fuel to the fire. The enterprise leadership decided to allow representatives of the informal organizations who had raised the alarm and the settlement's inhabitants to visit their enterprise and carry out tests for themselves.

The tests confirmed that there are no grounds for concern. Nonetheless the republic's Council of Ministers has set up a special commission of experts to put an end to the Baldone episode. This commission includes prestigious scientists—radiochemists, hydrologists, construction workers, and also sociologists and lawyers.

The results of comprehensive environmental tests were published recently. Specialists thoroughly analyzed samples taken from the pits, rivers, and subsoil water and checked the grass and pine needles in the villages near the "Radon" enterprise. Their main conclusion was that natural features in Baldone do not contain radionuclides in sufficient quantities to attest to the spread of radioactive substances into the environment. The medics' opinion is that the incidence of and mortality from oncological disease in the settlement are no higher than the mean republic indicators. The same goes for infant mortality. The enterprise only "buries" the republic's "waste." Everything else is rumor.

In order to avoid such rumors in the future, the commission recommended that the republic's Health Ministry set up an information service under the village soviet concerning the radiation situation—under public supervision. If there are no secrets, there will be no rumors.

Georgian Landslide Causes Flooding, Loss of Life

LD1503211989 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Tsageri, Republic of Georgia March 15 TASS—Blasting operations were started in the mountian region of Tsageri, the Republic of Georgia, on Wednesday, for the purpose of eliminating a lake formed there as a result of a landslide. The canyon of the Tskhenis-Tskali river was filled with water, and a highway was flooded.

The natural calamity that hit Georgia is severely trying people's strength. Since the beginning of the year hundreds of houses have been destroyed, many industrial, agricultural and cultural facilities have been damaged. A loss of life has been reported.

The republican government is taking prompt measures for stabilising Georgia's economic balance. The railway and automobile traffic, electric power lines and underground comunications were restored. After the analysis of anomalies taking place in the mountain regions the construction of apartment houses will be started.

'Raging' Elements Precipitate Disaster

LD1603113489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0445 GMT 16 Mar 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program; Nada Gongadze report from Tbilisi]

[Excerpts] The news is not good. Of late the elements have been raging, and they are not abating. There are landslides, avalanches, and numerous mud torrents in several areas of Georgia. A tense situation remains, particularly in the Adzhar-Imeret mountain regions. Many homes have been destroyed and unfortunately there are casualties—material damage is counted in tens of millions of rubles. A session of the permanent commission of the republic's Council of Ministers has drawn up a program to combat the disaster and eliminate its aftermath. [passage omitted] [video shows mudslide, damaged homes, broken bridge, flood waters, people with furniture salvaged from homes, stranded traffic]

Armenian Refugees' 'Difficult' Problems Unresolved

PM1503170989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "How the Lives of the Refugees Who Have Decided To Remain in Armenia Are Turning Out. The Long Road Home"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; second paragraph is extract from information bulletin]

[Text] The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has adopted the resolution "On Measures To Prevent Population Migration and Provide Social and Consumer Facilities for Persons Who Have Left Their Permanent Places of Residence." The resolution legalizes the registration, employment, and provision of housing and medical facilities for the refugees. A long period of uncertainty in the difficult lives of the refugees is coming to an end. But does this mean that all the questions connected with this are now disappearing from the agenda?

"According to figures published by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers commission, the following numbers of Armenian refugees have arrived in the republic: On 3/13—60 families, 140 people. By 3/13—46,439 families, 168,408 people." From the information bulletin issued by the military commandant of the special region at 2200 hours 13 March 1989.

These information bulletins are compiled on a daily basis. I have been reading them for a number of weeks now. The figures showing the numbers of arrivals flashed before my eyes, as in a kaleidoscope, in the column set out above. First the figures reached four numbers, then five, and, eventually, the number of arrivals crossed the 100,000 mark.... At one point I suddenly realized with horror that I was reading these highly significant figures as if they were just abstract statistical quantities. But behind every statistic there lies a human life and human destiny....

The center of Yerevan. The building of the republic agro-industrial committee in Lenin Square. For more than a month now large groups of people have been gathering here virtually every day. They hold stormy discussions in Armenian and Russian, enter into debates with the guardians of law and order, and call for justice....

The refugees from Azerbaijan come here to resolve painful issues, exchange information, and gain access to the high authorities.... There is no point in concealing the fact that here, among the refugees—it is hard, it is true, to call them by any other name—various agitators and simply unscrupulous people earn their living by exploiting the moods of the refugees. They sow among these people seeds of dissatisfaction with the leadership of the republic and the country, spread all kinds of rumors, and try to play on national feeling. You can hear provocative statements and nationalist slogans here. It is not surprising that, in the conditions of the special situation and curfew in the city, law and order bodies try to disperse these unsanctioned gatherings every time. But it is often the case that, the very next day, the people appear in the same place and it starts all over again.

What brings them here? What are the problems of those who, driven by fear for their lives and the lives of their loved ones, continue to come to Armenia?

I went up to a group of several dozen people. In the middle of the group stood a militia major and an elderly man of about 55, in a blue jacket and hatless. He was agitatedly showing some documents to the representative of authority, and I heard him say: "I cannot solve the problem of my pension and registration papers. Who should I go to?" I did not hear what the major said, but I could see from the way he was moving his hands that he was asking everyone to disperse. Two more members of the militia came up. "On your way now," they said politely but firmly to those around them. "But why should we go away?" someone asked with displeasure. "Who do you think we are? A group of rowdies?" But the militia were adamant.

The people did disperse, although they did not go very far. I saw the man in the blue jacket stop on the other side of the road. I went up to him. "Grigoryan," he introduced himself. "Vladimir. I left Baku 3 months ago. I came here with my sister and 85-year-old mother. We decided to settle in the village of Norgekhi, where some distant relatives live. But I still have not been able to solve the problem of my registration papers or transferring my pension...."

"My name is Stepanyan," another simply dressed old man, who had been listening to our conversation, introduced himself. "I also come from Baku. I was forced to leave, although I only had 4 months to go before receiving my pension. I tried to register in the city of Artashat, but they told me to go to Yerevan for permission. But here I cannot get to see Comrade Movsisyan...."

Several people had gathered around us by this time. They were all concerned with the same kind of problems: Finding somewhere to live, registering, finding work....

The situation is that, from the very outset, the refugee problem has been the responsibility of the republic's agro-industrial committee, led by V. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the council of ministers and chairman of the agro-industrial committee. It cannot be denied that an extremely complex task has fallen to the lot of this department—the fate of the refugees. Just think of the numbers involved: 168,408. So many people have left their homes and come to the republic. And every one of them has to be put somewhere—initially, at least—and there are the problems of housing and registration to solve, as well as dozens of other issues. All this is on top of the fact that the republic has more than enough of its own problems to contend with. There are 96,000 families on the housing waiting list and 514,000 people have been left without a roof over their heads as a result of the devastating earthquake. A total of 18 percent of the ablebodied population is not engaged in social production. Taking these circumstances into account and with the intention of normalizing the situation in the region, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers together with the appropriate bodies issued an appeal 4 January to citizens who have left their place of permanent residence, urging them to show reason, restraint, and great civic responsibility and return to their homes. New possibilities for normalizing the situation have opened up in connection with the adoption of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the temporary introduction of a special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

It would be good, of course, if all the refugees went back home. That is what we would all like to see. This, in my view, explains why the authorities have waited a while. And, it must be said, a considerable number of people have returned to their former places of residence. "As a result of explanatory work organized among the population, newspapers have reported, to date 43,800 Armenians have returned to Azerbaijan and 4,100 Azerbaijanis have returned to Armenia." But those who have made a different decision are far greater in number.

"As far as I am concerned, it is better to live here in a tent for 5 years than go back there," welder A. Tevosyants, who used to work in the Baku "Novosel" Cooperative, told me.

I will not go into what led him to this decision—I will just say that he has thought his decision through and is going to stick by it. V. Grigoryan, a former worker at the Baku Ferrous Concrete Plant, G. Gasparyan, and others have all come with the same conviction. There have been some people, incidentally, who have tried to return but have been forced to come back again. Why? "Following the appeal by the leaders of the two republics, some people hoped that the situation in Baku would get back to normal and we could live and work there in peace as before," Araksiya Grachikovna Oganova wrote, for example, in a statement addressed to the chairman of the government commission on the refugee question. "However, citizens of Armenian nationality are still suffering insult and humiliation as before. Any citizen on public transport or walking in the street can be approached by a group of people and beaten up in front of everyone just because he is Armenian. It is impossible to live and work in constant fear. I have two children and I fear for their lives... We are living temporarily in the 'Luys' Guest House."

I have seen many statements like this from people who have tried to return to Azerbaijan. Statements from Garri Ilich Avanesov, Albert Mosesovich Chirakyan, and others. They make hard reading. But a fact is a fact: It is hardly going to be possible now to influence these people with "explanatory work organized among the population." They have long formed their own opinion on this matter. It is no longer really possible to hope that, after wandering around for a while without a home of their own, they will just go back whence they came. So we must honestly and frankly admit that the refugees who have not gone back home are a reality. Once we have done this, the appropriate bodies must find legal solutions to the problems of registering them, finding them work, and establishing their housing prospects.

The republic agro-industrial committee is doing a fair amount of work in this direction. Citizens are regularly received—also by the chairman of the agro-industrial committee—and given assistance in finding employment. But not every problem can be solved immediately, and some people take offense. There are also some who are demanding housing in Yerevan and nearby regions and refusing to go to the earthquake-stricken regions, where they would be guaranteed housing space in 2 years' time. Despite this, I formed the impression that those people in Lenin Square are simply deprived of attention and sensitivity. And that, if considered properly, their problems too could be solved, like the problems of V. Grigoryan and A. Stepanyan. It would obviously not do any harm to organize the kind of information the refugees need right there in the square—possibly including recorded information. This would give people a clear idea of where their problem could be solved, by whom, and how. Unfortunately, some of the people I spoke to did not even know that the agro-industrial committee's working group responsible for the refugee problems is now operating in a totally different place—on the edge of the city, in the "Armgiprozem" Institute.

It proved difficult to get there using the city's public transport. It would be even more difficult, I thought, for elderly people. Inside the building, by the entrance to the office of T. Mutafyan, deputy leader of the working group responsible for accommodating the refugees, all the necessary information was posted up: from the group's work schedule to a list of cities and population centers where manpower is needed.

"The first thing we do is register the new arrivals," Marina Pogosyan, a group staffer and herself a former resident of Sumgait, explained to me. "Then we suggest places where they may be able to find work. We also give financial aid, calculated on the basis of R100 per person...."

"Unfortunately, we cannot do everything," Telemak Oganesovich Mutafyan joined in the conversation. "The main problems—housing and registration, as well as some others, incidentally—require special attention."

How can this be so? The government commission appears to have been given great authority, but it is not solving the most vital issues. It has also failed to solve the problem of transporting the refugees' personal belongings. While I was there, a wizened, half-blind woman burst into the office; another, slightly younger woman was holding onto her arm. What had brought them here? "Roza Levonovna Ayrapetyan," the older woman introduced herself. "And this is my daughter, Gramush." They had come from the city of Shamkhor. Roza Levonovna had worked there for 40 years as an ordinary sovkhoz worker. It was there that she lost her sight. And her mother, father, and son are all buried there. And now, leaving everything behind, this ailing woman had been forced to come here with her daughter.

"Help me to bring my belongings here, I beg you," she forced the words out through her tears. "I am prepared to give you all the money I have left...."

"Unfortunately, we also do not deal with this kind of problem," A. Mutasyan, the leader of the working group, said.

I will add: Unfortunately, this problem is not being fully solved by the government, either. I must emphasize that many problems have been resolved with the appearance of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers resolution mentioned at the beginning of the article. But the question of restoring to people what they have acquired over many years of their lives is still open at present. It cannot, of course, be compensated with the R100 grant given to the refugees. And there is no reason to hope that this problem will solve itself.

'Hundreds' Rally in Dushanbe for Tajik Language

LD1403133189 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "A Meeting in the Square"]

[Text] Accustomed to perfect traffic order, public transportation drivers in Dushanbe were amazed with what they saw on 24 February. In Lenin Square, in the very center of the city, traffic jams were occurring one after another. By noon, hundreds of people, young people—many students of higher educational establishments—gathered there. It was they who were making the traffic flow difficult.

What was it that brought these young people to the main square in the middle of a working day? The reason was revealed by the numerous slogans and posters they held: "Give Tajik the status of the state language;" "We demand that the ancient Tajik culture be revived;" "We are for restructuring."

Lieutenant Colonel (militia) N. Azizkulov, deputy head of the department of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Octyabrskiy raykom, addressed the people who were gathered there. He read the provisions of the law regulating the holding of meetings and demonstrations. He stressed that an application for permission to hold a meeting must be sent a week in advance. As the organizers of the meeting gave their request to the city authorities only 3 days ago, the meeting was considered to be unauthorized, and consequently unlawful. The militia employee called on the young people to observe order and to disperse....

However, the people were not in a hurry to fulfill this request. They went to Government House, which was just opposite, where a regular session of the commission for the preparation of proposals on the status of the state language in the Tajik SSR was in progress. Shouts of resentment from among the crowd were made. Passions were heating up, and the situation was threatening to get out of hand.

It would seem that the simplest decision would have been to apply the force of law to the law-breakers, and to try to disperse the demonstrators, as it has been done more than once in a number of other towns in the country.

Of course, it is not difficult to guess the consequences of such a step. The energy of the excited and dissatisfied crowd would have almost definitely transferred itself into extremely undesirable incidents. Were there not similar situations when clashes between nationalities in some republics sprang up? It looks as if the Tajik SSR leaders found the only correct way out of this complicated, nonstandard situation: They not only gave people a chance to express their opinion, but also took a most active part in the discussion of the problems raised. As a result, the unauthorized meeting became a businesslike, constructive conversation.

The meeting was opened by G.P. Pallayev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR. He first announced that the majority of members of the language commission spoke in favor of recognizing, in a legislative way, Tajik as the state language in the republic. A draft law has been drafted which will be published by the press and offered for general discussion. Thus, a concrete answer was given to the principal demand of the participants in the meeting.

M. Asimov, member of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences; M. Kanoatov, first secretary of the Writers' Union Board of the Republic; A. Tursumov, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences; and others spoke on the work and conclusions of the commission in greater detail.

The exchange of views lasted over 2 hours. All who wished had a chance to express thier opinion: students, teachers, doctors, Komsomol workers, writers, collective farmers, religious figures; representatives of Dushanbe and other regions of the republic spoke frankly on sensitive subjects. The speakers noted with anguish that Tajik, an ancient language deeply rooted in history, has not yet been awarded the proper status of the state language of the republic. As a result, the standard of teaching of the native language in schools and in higher educational establishments is extremely low, the knowledge of the native language by young people, and especially by urban youngsters, is poor, and the Tajik literary language is becoming corrupted.

Of course, one cannot agree without reservations with all the ideas expressed at the meeting. Among them there were extremely controversial ideas, insufficiently thought through, and engendered by over-emotion. However, the meeting as a whole was undoubtedly useful. It permitted the executive workers of the republic to better comprehend what preoccupies people today, and the masses to become assured that Tajikistan's leadership is far from indifferent to their problems. Also significant is the fact that if the slogans in defense of the mother tongue and culture were voiced at the beginning of the discussion, then toward the end calls supporting restructuring, present CPSU Soviet State policy, friendship among peoples, and the need to study Russian were heard more and more often.

The only unfortunate thing was that the meeting organizers invited exclusively representatives of the Tajik population to attend the meeting. It would have been interesting to hear the opinions of representatives of other nationalities and lesser nationalities residing in Tajikistan on the problems raised. It is not excluded that their opinion would not have differed, in principle, from the views expressed by the meeting. However, a direct dialogue is always useful when an optimal decision is being worked out—this offers the best way to mutual understanding. Otherwise reasons for various rumors and inventions would continue to exist.

One more remark. Standing up for the creation of a law-governed state, it is necessary first to respect the existing legislation. Whatever it may be, the organizers of the meeting have still violated the law, be it even nominally. Well, so far we have been learning democracy, but one must draw correct conclusions from the lessons.

Army Language Barrier Problems Viewed

PM1403154189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Major S. Babayev under the rubric "Ideological Work: The National Aspect": "We Speak Different Languages"]

[Text] Northern Group of Forces—I once observed the following scene in a motorized rifle regiment. A group of servicemen outside the regiment command point was discussing the problem of buying liquor. And noisily, out loud. Officers were standing right there and cudgelling their brains over how to cope with the plan of educational measures for the current week.

The paradoxical nature of the situation is easily explained: The soldiers of non-Russian nationality were talking to each other in their own language. And the officers naturally did not even suspect the "surprise" which was being prepared for them for the evening. I had to intervene....

That is just one incident. But after all it is no secret that this is possible quite often—the Army is multinational. In many subunits there are groups based on territorial draft criteria and most often on the national criterion, on language. Psychologists explain that this is not so much a need as a necessity for that age group to stand apart, gathering into a microcollective. It passes as the years go by and the men's general culture grows. But what about now?

Here are just a few statistics on the above-mentioned motorized rifle regiment.

Representatives of 25 nationalities serve here. Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians account for 182 men. There are 220 from Central Asia, 76 from the Caucasus and Transcaucasus, and 68 from the Volga region. Those are the main groups.

Among the command personnel the ratio is as follows: nine from the Transcaucasus and three from Central Asia. There is only one senior officer among them. The absolute majority know no languages of the peoples of the USSR except Russian and do not consider it necessary to work on this.

Now about the ensigns. Some 91 percent are Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians. The remainder are Caucasians. There is no one from Central Asia.

Of course, the personnel is constantly being renewed. But the tendency remains the same: There is an increase in the number of draftees from the Central Asian and Transcaucasus republics. The process is undoubtedly connected with demographic problems.

Why is this process not reflected in the national composition of officer cadres? Among the military school graduates Kazakhs, Turkmens, and Uzbeks make up literally single units.... There is an allocations schedule for the preferential admission of people of indigenous nationalities to military schools. But as we can see, even this does not save the situation. In my view much can be explained by the poor quality of initial military training in schools. It is not only from my own personal impressions that I can judge the great blunders in the work of military commissariats in selecting school leavers for military schools. This is confirmed by the letters and comments sent every day by the unit commands to the military VUZ's which have trained a particular officer defectively—one link in a single chain, as they say.

But sometimes the military schools are unable to put everything right. After all, in a number of regions a long way from the center almost feudal systems have existed for years, like the notorious Adylov system in which "cotton slaves" worked and semiliterate teachers and doctors who had bought themselves diplomas "taught" and "treated" people. Is it any wonder that some young people drafted to military service from such places do not know how to read and write?

I also understand something else. You cannot immediately put right something which has not been improved for years. I have in mind the national education system, in which due attention has not been paid in the national krays and oblasts to teaching the Russian language or, indeed, to teaching the native language. Meanwhile, young people who for precisely this reason find it hard to master a combat speciality have arrived and continue to arrive every year for military service. It is probably for this reason that many of them are dissatisfied and confused. And feel bitter. And protest inwardly. And that is the nutrient medium for "hazing."

Russian language study groups are organized in the units and subunits. In this regiment there are also such groups. But, alas, they do not eliminate problems, but merely create a semblance of all being well. In the majority of cases semiprofessional, or more often illiterate, work is done. After all, it is sergeants and soldiers and rarely officers who do the training. Indeed, even officers do not possess the necessary methodology. The manuals themselves, which a number of central newspapers have already written about, are also vulnerable. The result is that a lot of time is spent in units and subunits on studying the Russian language, often to the detriment of the most important thing—combat training. And the result is insignificant. This can also to some extent explain the low general education level of candidates for admission to military schools from the ranks of soldiers and sergeants of non-Russian nationality.

In the motorized rifle regiment under discussion there was not a single school leaver representing Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, or the Baltic republics. Last year there were two Tatars, one Uzbek, and one Turkmen among the candidates. In all 4 people for 10 candidates' places. But of these only one—Sergeant R. Nurmukhametov—got in. The others were unable to pass even an easier test. I know the picture is no better in neighboring units.

How are we to improve the situation on the scale of the regiment? I make absolutely no claims to the universality of my own suggestions on this score. But I believe there is an urgent need for, for instance, military schools in the national republics to teach the local language, traditions, and customs at least on an optional basis. Moreover, this factor must be considered in assigning young officers to their place of service: for instance, sending them to precisely those subunits where the majority of the personnel was drafted from the same regions. Subsequently, life may pose the question of studying the languages of other peoples of the USSR as a compulsory subject. Since we are seeking to improve interethnic relations in the Army, you cannot manage without a counter-movement.

The fact from days gone by, as they say, attests persuasively to how important a balanced approach is in training cadres. When the events in Nagorno-Karabakh began, Major I. Aprevyan, secretary of the regiment party committee, became a kind of connecting link between the servicemen from Armenia and from Azerbaijan. Knowing both languages, he had often associated with the young people even before, and knew well which soldiers and sergeants he could rely on in his educational work. And here it was in good stead. He had to talk actively with people and explain things to them. The Communist was able tactfully and attentively to study the atmosphere in the collective, to remove tension where necessary, and to enlist activists from the ranks of Armenians and Azerbaijanis to common concerns. That is why not even the shadow of a conflict has ever arisen on this ground in the unit.

Unfortunately, far from everywhere are there officers and ensigns from Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Central Asia, or the Transcaucasus even in the agitation and propaganda groups. And if there are, then they are not used actively. For instance, in this regiment young officers and ensigns are not enlisted to this work, allegedly because of their youth and "inexperience in theoretical matters." What is to be done here? And there are more questions....

Of course, the measures taken recently are producing definite results. The commission for interethnic relations created under the political directorate, the groups for interethnic relations and the study of public opinion, sociological studies, the purposeful actions of party committees and bureaus—everything works in the same direction. But what if behind the wall of measures the influence exerted on each soldier is blunted. The influence exerted personally. After all, so far the majority of our ideological work is oriented exclusively toward servicemen with a good knowledge of the Russian language. About 50 percent of the personnel in the unit I mentioned remain outside actively influence from the political worker or propaganda worker.... But what is there to be surprised about? The talks, thematic evenings, and morning training sessions are often simply incomprehensible to a large proportion of soldiers from the national republics. They merely "register their presence at events" and fill the auditorium.

The work of the club and library is also being rethought here. After all, in the movie theater and radio broadcasts everything is solely for those who speak Russian well. A film by some republican movie studio will appear occasionally, or a song in his native language will be heard to the delight of the man whose name day it is. And that is all. But what if a festival of, for instance, Georgian movies, were organized? Or Kazakh movies? Or Latvian movies? Or Uzbek or Belorussian movies? What if one or two movies were dubbed in Kazakh or Latvian? With subtitles in Russian. It seems to me this would educate tolerance and understanding in some and self respect in others. Movie magazines are needed entitled "Round the Fraternal Republics" or "The Country's News" describing the present-day life of different regions.

I was specially interested in the fact that about 300 books in the languages of the peoples of the USSR lie in piles in the unit library. Yet this is only a drop in the ocean. In addition all the books are old. And this stock is not being supplemented because there are no funds. The republican publishing houses produce enough books to supply the unit libraries. But radical measures are needed for this and, let us be frank, not at the level of comradely relations with civilian institutions, as is frequently the case now.

The business of rallying multinational collectives is not simple. And it will be successful if restructuring ties the work of all links closely into a single chain. If, in broad terms, questions of the ideological-political and moral union of people in the Army ranks become for the party and soviet organs, the Komsomol and the school, and for interested bodies in the country, questions of truly statewide importance. And that is precisely the task set by the 19th all-union party conference—making service in the Army a genuine school of internationalism. We cannot express ourselves here in different languages, sometimes without understanding each other. The task of defending the motherland is a common and urgent one.

* Nuclear Lighter Inspected, Allowed to Unload

18290129 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Correspondent S. Glukhov: "Nuclear Vessel Unloaded"]

[Text] Vladivostack—As our newspaper already reported, the Vladivostok City Ispolkom vetoed the entry to port of the country's first nuclear lighter. Since 3 March "Sevmorput" had been lying out on the outer roads. A commission of deputies on ecology, and specialists from the medical and epidemiological service and civil defense, visited the ship. The conclusion was that there was no dangerous background radiation. "Sevmorput" was allowed to enter the inner roads. The lighters delivered here were taken off. It is calculated that the ship's demurrage cost almost four million rubles.

"Now workers of the commercial port and the crew of the nuclear lighter are taking on new cargo," reported duty dispatcher V. Novikov by telephone. "It is mainly fertilizer and cotton for fraternal Vietnam."

It is hard to predict the future fate of the nuclear lighter. Reports have come from Nakhodka, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, and Magadan that the local ports are not prepared to receive the new ship. In particular, there are no dosimeters or decontamination solutions, and plans for eliminating possible emergencies have not yet been compiled. In short, there is the threat of a new boycott, for which only one thing would be responsible—mismanagement.

Economic

Oil Exports Cut To Meet OPEC Interests

PM1503175589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Yu. Glukhov article in "Dialogue" feature under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Questions": "OPEC and Us"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Excerpts] "PRAVDA regularly carries materials on OPEC conferences' work concerning oil extraction quotas and the price of oil. It also carries materials on the attitude of other oil-producing countries to this issue. I would like to know what our country's position is. Does it cooperate with other oil-exporting countries?—A. Shishkin, Leningrad"

Naturally the Soviet Union is not indifferent to the situation on the world oil market, although our exports for freely convertible currency are not so great, amounting to 5-6 percent of annual oil extraction. The market has been in a fever in recent years, with supply exceeding demand. Any fluctuations not only take the form of sums totaling millions and billions but affect the state of the world economy.

Seeking to cut overproduction and to balance supply and demand, OPEC has set quotas for its members and laid down the overall flow of exports. [passage omitted]

OPEC's stand meets with understanding in the Soviet Union. V. Arutyunyan, chairman of the "Soyuznefteeksport" All-Union Foreign Economic Association, told us that in the current half-year the USSR has made a five percent cut in oil exports compared with the level reached last year in freely convertible currency. Our policy, our interlocutor declared, takes into account the interests of both producers and consumers of oil and is aimed at stabilizing the oil market.

The Soviet Union's decision has elicited a positive response in OPEC circles. An official statement by the organization evaluated it as "a very important step."

Yakovlev on Obstructions to Development, Reforms

LD1503181289 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpts] A member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee Politburo has called for clearing the nation's conscience of the lies that socialism and the market are incompatible. This appeal from the Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev came in his article published by the Soviet-Finnish magazine "MOSCOW BUSINESS." We now bring you the highlights.

Soviet society and the party strongly criticize the authoritarian rule and stagnation, and they've become increasingly aware of how many opportunities were missed. This is a rather painful experience. Why can't we give Soviet men and women a decent life at a time when we seem to have all we need for this? It's clear, Aleksandr Yakovlev says, that a socialist society can develop in many ways. The variety of options within the framework of this system is really unlimited. However, in the past, the idea of a multitude of options was rejected and the distortions of the late twenties and the early thirties continue to contain our progress.

The main brake on our development is excessive centralization and state control over everything which has brought into being a huge machinery of bureaucracy. The principles of popular government and self-government were neglected. Today, the drive for new relations in the economy have run counter into outdated structural routine and conservatism.

We are talking about political reforms, but it has proved still difficult to drop the outdated system of government we are used to. We still cannot believe that genuine popular government will be much stronger and (?imply) a much higher degree of responsibility. We are still afraid of openness and the pluralism of opinion. But can a human being be called a human being unless he or she has a personal view?

Meanwhile, socialism is a society of free, creative endeavour, a society where the individual should have a really prominent position. Therefore, perestroyka is not confined to a package of new resolutions saying how social relations can be improved. It must improve the life of ordinary people and give them greater opportunities to develop. Perestroyka itself is based on a fundamental reorganization of the economy. [passage omitted]

Soviet society can no longer tolerate the state of affairs in which everything is turned upside down. So far, we have tried to reconcile ourselves with (?absurdities) but it has to be one way or the other. We must either restructure the economy or keep trying to meet the targets of the current 5-Year Plan. That plan, adopted in 1986, Aleksandr Yakovlev says, is the shield the most keen opponents of perestroyka are going to hide behind. We cannot restore normal blood circulation to the Soviet economy without going through the passe of a socialist market. The call for learning how to trade Lenin made decades ago has now acquired a new dimension.

The opposition to the idea of a market, which Aleksandr Yakovlev has described as (?metastases) of Stalinism, is still rather strong. Cooperation can change the current state of affairs by combining individual and collective interests. The elimination of wholesale wage levelling is another crucial factor. Without that, socialism will remain a society in which the individual is just a supplement to the state. Only a diversified socialist market can reward each worker according to one's performance. Without that, shortages and restrictions will remain, and that is what we call a brake on progress.

Cooperatives Burdened by High Tax Rates

PM1503141989 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10 (signed to press 5 Mar 89) p 4.

[Commentary by Andrey Kuteynikov, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "Why?": "Tax Oases? Why Not?"]

[Text] The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Income Tax on Cooperatives" was recently published, and two days later IZVESTIYA published a commentary by Vladimir Panskov, first deputy minister of Finance of the USSR.

From now on, taxes are to be determined by the level of the soviets that use those taxes in their budget. This is standard practice throughout the world and cannot raise any eyebrows.

The commentary for the first time makes public data on the taxes levied on state enterprises (52-53 per cent for the industry as a whole, and up to 70 per cent - on light industry enterprises not counting payments to the ministries!). The author of the commentary correctly suggests that to ensure equal conditions between cooperatives and state enterprises, their tax burden must be approximately the same. But in his opinion, it is necessary not to lower the taxes on state enterprises, but to raise them on cooperatives from 3-10 to 40 percent. Obviously something like this will be put down in the recommendations of the USSR Ministry of Finance, "which, by the way, are not of a directive nature".

As it turns out, the slogan of equality of the state and cooperative sectors has again become an extra burden for the cooperatives and not the alleviation of the burden for the state enterprises. The tens of thousands of cooperatives which were set up in the country since last summer, will start paying, in four months' time taxes 8-12 times higher than the state promised when it passed the law on cooperatives. The cooperators, it is true, have already got used to such vacillations of state policy, and they'll probably see the main paradox in something else. If Ministry of Finance recommendations are adopted in the majority of the republics, then the USSR will become unique in that foreign capital will enjoy a more profitable condition of operation than national producers. And, true enough, for joint ventures, which may be considered subsidiaries of foreign private companies in the USSR, the tax on profit is only 30 per cent, and in the first two years of operation, the joint venture is freed of all taxes. Isn't that a paradox?

Because of the rights of the republican and local soviets to set taxes themselves, different tax conditions may be set for the activities of cooperatives in different regions. In particular, some republics (probably, the Baltic ones) and regions may become tax oases, in which cooperatives will be registered, but will function outside the given regions and yet still pay taxes, in keeping with the decree, at the place of registration. It is clear that a farsighted law-maker will set perhaps a 10 per cent tax so that cooperatives from all over the country would be registered in his district, rather than a 50 percent tax, which would make even his own cooperators prefer to register somewhere else. The tax revenues to the local budgets will still be much higher in the first case than in the second. But how correct the forecast on the appearance of tax oases will be will become clear only after July 1 when the new decree goes into operation.

Agricultural

Zholobov Interviewed on Grain Shortage

LD1303154989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1002 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee plenum on agrarian policy which is to be held soon will certainly work to resolve the grain problem. Aleksandr Zholobov, a member of the collegium of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee and a leading horticulturist, is convinced of that.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he stressed that not only does supplying the population with food products depend to a great extent on resolving the grain problem, so, too, does improving the entire Soviet economy. Zholobov thinks that weak economic incentive has led to a decrease of 6 million hectares in the areas sown to grain crops in the country over the past 3 years. Farms prefer to grow crops which bring in a large income.

On the world market, 1 kg of grain is approximately seven times cheaper than 1 kg of pork. In the USSR, this discrepancy is double that—grain is 14 times cheaper than pork. Meanwhile, it is this very shortage of grain which to a considerable extent limits the potential of livestock rearing.

The problem is complicated by the fact that microbiology and other industries are not providing the required amount of ingredients for fodder of full value. Hence the irrationally great expenditure of grain.

Zholobov recalled that a firm course is now being steered towards expanding intensive technologies which make it possible to sharply increase the output of grain. These are now being introduced in more than one-third of the areas sown with grain. Here each hectare produces six to seven quintals of harvest more than it would using traditional methods. It is first and foremost because of intensive technologies that the average annual output of grain in the country has risen since 1985 by 25 million tonnes in comparison with the average annual harvest in the first half of the 1980's. Yet intensive technologies, in Zholobov's words, are thus far yielding less than their inherent potential.

Farmers complain of the poor quality of agricultural equipment and the interruptions in material and technical supply. This is also a topic for thorough analysis at the party plenum. It is Zholobov's conviction that the grain problem can only be resolved on an integrated basis.

Tula Oblast Rural Management Structure Formed

PM1503112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Pushkar report: "Cutting the Apparatus Is Only Half the Job. Functions of New Body Replacing Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee"; first and last paragraphs are editorial introduction and comment respectively]

[Text] Tula—Following a decision by the assembly of representatives, the Tula Oblast Union of Agro-Industrial State Cooperative Enterprises, Cooperatives, and Associations—the "Tulaagropromsoyuz"—has been formed.

Everyone can remember the hopes with which the rayon agro-industrial association and the agro-industrial committees were created: They were intended to harness together all the self-willed "horses" helping to pull the heavy load of agricultural production. Three years have passed, however, and the situation in the countryside has changed little. Even today, more than 100 of the 414 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblast are economically weak, not very profitable, and burdened with debts. The results of their work can be judged by the rather empty shelves in the food stores. Plans for construction in rural areas are also not being met. It is no accident that less than 6 percent of the oblast's able-bodied population now lives in the Tula countryside—and the population drain from rural areas is continuing.

The factors causing these and similar phenomena are connected to a considerable extent with the administrative methods of management and the yoke of bureaucratic edicts which agricultural units and producers have yet to succeed in casting off. Practice has shown that, by preserving the old, undemocratic structure of management even today, we are holding back and sometimes totally negating the effectiveness of the economic mechanism of management now being introduced to the agrarian complex: The new mechanism is literally suffocating under the mountain of bureaucratic paperwork.

Meanwhile, an excellent example has been set by the "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association: With all of the region's forces and resources pooled on a cooperative basis, enterprises have worked independently and without oblast commanders for the last 18 months, achieving good results (IZVESTIYA discussed this in December 1988). Similar associations and cooperatives which process meat and milk and provide production and technical backup services have now been set up in other regions.

This has prompted the need for a new step: To restructure management at oblast level. The aim is to make it democratic, guarantee the development of cooperative relations, and strengthen economic levers of management.

A. Meshcheryakov, chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee, submitted the question of the new structure for discussion. It was proposed to structure the "Tulaagropromsoyuz" administration as follows: The union's highest body—the assembly of representatives—will elect the board and the chairman for a 5-year term. Of the former 16 oblast agro-industrial committee departments, only 6 will remain, concerned with economic and financial work: planning and socioeconomic development, labor organization and remuneration, and finance and credit. Services for coordinating production, processing and selling output, and introducing progressive technologies will be retained. Under the new structure, only two of the eight deputy chairmen will remain. On the whole, the apparatus—which has already been reduced in size—is to lose another 70 people and will have a total of 114 working people.

The union will incorporate all the rayon agro-industrial associations and their cooperatives, and also the following oblast associations: "Plodoovoshchkhoz," the potato seed production association, pedigree stock breeding association, meat and dairy industrial association, "Agropromstroy," "Agroservis," and the Scientific Backup Center.

How much reorganization our long-suffering agriculture can remember! And, with every successive reorganization, everyone expected that this would be the one to finally address the rural worker and the land—the provider of bread. But this did not happen. And now, in embarking on yet more changes, people—wise from past experience—would like to look before they leap.... However, judging by the speeches of representatives in the assembly, they did not look before leaping. The most important final document adopted by the assembly, 30 pages long, entered this world in the same old way: from behind office doors. Neither the status of the union nor its statute underwent preliminary discussion in the collectives and rayon agro-industrial associations. There was not even any attempt to offer any alternative options for discussion.

It is no accident that the proposed structure of the "Tulaagropromsoyuz" has aroused sharp criticism from the most authoritative farm leaders. N. Sevryugin, director of a sovkhoz; P. Kazachenko, chairman of a kolkhoz and candidate people's deputy; A. Kopylov, deputy chairman of the "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association; and finally V. Starodubtsev, chairman of this agro-industrial association, chairman of the Russian Kolkhoz Council, and candidate people's deputy; pointed out that in their opinion the proposed reorganization still does not meet the spirit of restructuring and could simply lead to nominal changes. They spoke against the idea of organizing the union on the basis of the territorial-sectoral principle, which inevitably leads to kolkhozes and sovkhozes being subordinated to two or even three bodies, and warned that even in the new union administrative units at oblast level could still parasitize on the producers. They also spoke with alarm of how even with the new system of management we will not eliminate the problem of economic and social backwardness in rural areas.

A. Kochkin, a leaseholder from the "Krapivenskiy" Sovkhoz, demanded that the entire economic mechanism be made to serve the interests of the agricultural worker. So far this has not been the case, he pointed out. And he cited examples. "Agroservis" cooperatives have been set up, for example, but the supply of spare parts and metal has not improved because of it.

A avid discussion developed during the election of the chairman of the union board. Participants in the assembly suggested that one of the respected farm leaders be elected to this post, who would combine the two offices and engage an administrator responsible for everyday matters. This did not happen, however.

Although the assembly participants talked for 8 hours, they still formed the impression (and this was discussed informally during the assembly) that in the final analysis everything was going along in line with a prewritten scenario, under the excessive diktat of the presidium, which obviously knew which shore to make for. The assembly of representatives elected A. Meshcheryakov chairman, along with a 35-man union board.

So, we can take this as a fait accompli: A major economic unit has made a formal break with the administrative-edict system. The representatives of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cooperatives, and associations and their elected administrative bodies now have the right to independently decide how they are going to run things. Perhaps their first constituent assembly will serve as a good lesson for the future. Because, so far, only the official birth of the "Tulaagropromsoyuz" has been achieved. The form it will take in the future, the economic mechanism and management structure it will have, and how things are run—these and many other questions now rest fully with the members of this union.

This is how the birth of a new structure of rural economic organization in Tula Oblast proved to be—difficult and a source of many disputes and conflicting opinions.

From the editorial office: So, has Tula's attempt to remove a large economic unit from the administrative-edict system failed or succeeded? There is still no straight answer to this question. The search for new forms of administration and economic management is still complicated by the lack of experience in really democratic solutions to tasks and by the burden of the old methods. People will have to learn as they go along. That is why we have given a detailed account of the debates surrounding the Tula option, and we intend to follow its emergence and development.

Agricultural Developments for 9-14 March
LD1603025289

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 9-14 March, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

9 March

On almost 280,000 hectares the repair of winter grains is to be carried out in Stravropol Kray—in other words, shoots which have perished must be reestablished and in places even resown. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 091530)

The next report is from Kazakhstan. Many farms in this republic are starting sowing. In the southern oblasts alone farms are to sow various crops on more than 1.5 million hectares. All in all, the area sown to grain in the republic will be more than 23 million hectares. (1400)

10-11 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

12 March

Corn sowing has begun in Surkhandaryinskaya Oblast of Uzbekistan. Farmers plan to obtain two full harvests this year. A new strain developed in Yugoslavia and producing up to 50 quintals per hectare in Central Asian climatic conditions is being widely used in the oblast this season. (0304)

13 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

14 March

Altay grain farmers have decided to expand their intensive crop cultivation area. It will be largest in Siberia and occupy 1.3 million hectares. (1100)

Scientific

'Phobos' Mission Continues Experiments
LD1503211289 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from flight control centre:

The Phobos automatic probe continues its flight around Mars. Between March 7 and 14 the space station performed investigations of solar oscillations, X-ray and ultraviolet radiations emitted by the sun, space rays and space and solar gamma-splashes. The probe continued studying the planet's surface and making measures of magnetic fields and characteristics of space plasma.

The control group specified the parameters of the spacecraft's orbit after a manoeuvre performed on March 7. Another orbital correction was made with small thrust engines of the station at 17:20, Moscow time, on March 15 to form optimum synchronous orbit which will bring it closer to Phobos.

According to trajectory measurings made by Soviet ground posts in Yevpatoria and Ussuriisk, the operation with the Martian man-made satellite which is 250 million kilometres away from the earth, was carried out successfully.

Military

Defense Industry Minister Discusses Conversion

PM1503122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with P. Finogenov, USSR minister of the defense industry, by own correspondent A. Nikitin: "Instead of Missiles and Tanks.... P. Finogenov, USSR Minister of the Defense Industry, Tells PRAVDA Correspondent About the Sector's Transition to the Production of Nonmilitary Output"; date not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow—I saw a souvenir in the minister's office—a constructivist-style metal sculpture depicting a nuclear explosion. It might have become what it depicted—but it didn't. The souvenir had been made out of pieces of a Soviet SS-20 intermediate-range missile casing, one of those scrapped under the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States.

It was this new souvenir made out of scorched fragments that prompted my first question to the minister:

[Nikitin] Does this mean, Pavel Vasilyevich, that the treaty is also bound up with the switching of your sector to nonmilitary [mirnyy] output, particularly with respect to orders from agro-industrial complex sectors?

[Finogenov] If we're talking about a switch then that is quite right. But I must note right off that even in the past our sector had never been unaffected by nonmilitary orders from the government. We have long produced very powerful tractors, gondola cars, diesel motors, and machine tools for drilling on land and at sea and for the light industry. Not to mention cars, motorcycles, cameras, washing machines, refrigerators.... The list is endless. We will produce R4.5 billion in consumer goods alone this year.

But, of course, in my whole life I can't recall such a major switch as that which started last year—even though I've worked in this sector for a long time. The level of civilian [grazhdanskiy] output is already around half of the sector's total capacity. In the next 1-2 years this figure will increase significantly. We have started producing output for the food industry. Our sector has been made the chief sector for eight types of equipment; this means we are responsible for technical standards and for series production. These items include machine complexes for the initial processing of livestock and poultry, bottling and packaging machines, and machines for packing liquids and plastics. In addition, we make equipment for the brewing and soft-drink industries, along with concentrate and canning machines. Our other lines will manufacture refined sugar, packaged potatoes, fruit, and vegetables in bags. As you can see, this is a wide range. In the course of 8 years—the program runs from 1988 through 1995—output of this equipment will increase by 290 percent....

[Nikitin] Could you please tell us what the features of the program are? What is being done right now?

[Finogenov] Our main aim is not just to boost output of machines for food industry workers but to improve their technical standard and quality. Currently these parameters are extremely low because this sector, which is vitally important for the people, has been starved of modern equipment. Suffice it to say that only one-fourth of the entire range of items transferred to us last year was up to modern standards. We are not resurrecting this machine building subsector but essentially creating a fundamentally new subsector. Apart from the 600-odd items currently produced, another 535 items will be developed and manufactured. Dozens of our plants, design bureaus, and technological institutes are already involved in this work. It is very important that they do as much as they can today without putting things off. This year they will help to produce one-third of series production and 37 percent of new developments. A special section for light industry machines has been set up within the ministry's scientific and technical council. Moreover, we received along with our targets 10 small plants employing around 20,000 people that used to be under the jurisdiction of the former Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances.

[Nikitin] As far as I am aware, these collectives were worried that their plants would be closed down because they were outdated, and output transferred to large enterprises in your sector.

[Finogenov] Yes, some people did indeed make such proposals. But we paid the greatest attention to the opinions and needs of the "new arrivals" who joined us last year. Before they were officially transferred to us we made a detailed study of each enterprise—in terms of both technical standards and cadre makeup. Plans were drawn up for modernization, starting up the manufacture of new items, and ensuring the social development of the collectives. Not a single enterprise will be closed down. Even trademarks will not be changed. Output quality and working conditions will change considerably. The first thing that surprised us was that a number of these plants did not even have any consumer facilities. No housing had been built for many years and talented young people did not join them. Nor were there any experimental production facilities in place. We sharply turned things around to restore these collectives and gave them confidence in their future. We shared our resources and best cadres with them. We decided to set up our own design schools at them. In short, our sector was not a hard taskmaster but a real mother to them....

[Nikitin] What are the tactical features in the development of this new machine building subsector?

[Finogenov] First and foremost we decided to accelerate output of the types of equipment which would sharply reduce losses of food output. To this end, for instance, the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant, which used to produce SS-20 missiles, has started producing high-efficiency devices for milk pasteurization and cooling. Last year's targets were successfully met and we are ahead of target this year.

Following the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles a real opportunity has emerged to begin production of thermally protected tanks carried on five-axle tractor-trailers to transport cooled milk, juices, kvass, beer, and other products, completely avoiding any spoilage in transit. One such tank could easily supply enough milk for 12,000-15,000 children or supply 24,000 glasses of cooled kvass for a medium-sized city.

The productivity of the automated fruit juice bottling and packing complexes, which are being produced at the "Melitopolprodmash" Association, is truly colossal. The entire process is regulated and controlled electronically—from washing the bottles and plastic crates to packing them. Comprehensive approaches to work and the creation of complete systems are moving from the realm of theory to practice....

[Nikitin] Does this mean we're again talking about size, rates, and giant capacities?...

[Finogenov] Don't forget the size of our country and its population. Army mobile kitchens aren't going to produce a revolution in food processing in this day and age. Incidentally, we also produce kitchen equipment, particularly digesters. The plan for these is being fulfilled....

[Nikitin] There is something else that is no secret, Pavel Vasilyevich. We have many small towns, workers settlements, rayon centers, and villages where there are people, for instance, who have never even tasted ice cream. Have kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and new "economic units" such as family livestock units, cooperatives, or lease collectives been taken into account as consumers? Who ultimately calls your "tune" and who pays for it?

[Finogenov] You've asked some very relevant questions. Let me answer the easiest first. Izhevsk machine builders have developed and started production of a compact automated ice-cream-making complex with a capacity of up to 500 kg an hour. These complexes can be used in isolation or in groups at any dairy plant or population center. The citizens of Udmurtia have already evaluated this innovation—they now enjoy an almost constant supply of ice cream. Moreover, we are starting to supply "turnkey" equipment to small shops processing meat, milk, fruit, and vegetables actually on kolkhozes and sovkhozes—the places where harvesting takes place. This will make it possible to sharply cut output losses. We understand the problem and are prepared to do everything necessary to resolve it. But we must have an accurate idea of current and projected demand. You won't get far in this area by just taking a shot in the dark!

Because we're discussing the problem of orders, I would like to note that their technical standard also leaves much to be desired. Not all Gosagroprom institutes have proved up to the task. Many of them have ordered from us yesterday's rather than tomorrow's output [zakazali nam ne zavtrashniy den, a vcherashniy]. Need it be said that the quality of orders themselves is reflected in the current quality of items. Realizing this, we have set up specialized planning services to help to substantially complete "crude" [syroy] orders and to seek fundamentally new design and technological solutions. An example of that is the development of an automated rotary teat production line. This idea was suggested by the well-known Academician L. Koshkin.

[Nikitin] What is your sector's financial position now? This question arises because the new civilian thrust, of course, requires the enlistment of substantial funds. Moreover, food industry consumers, while noting the increase in the equipment's quality, nonetheless consider it somewhat expensive. What is to be done?

[Finogenov] Our sector's financial position is stable. Maybe because we made advance preparations for conversion—the substitution of nonmilitary output for defense output. We endeavored to reduce to a minimum the period between halting missile production and starting up civilian production. All this has also enabled the sector as of this year to wholly transfer to full economic accountability [polnyy khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing.

As for prices—that's not an easy question for us. The sector is operating on economic accountability! But we also plan to resolve this question by taking mutual interests into consideration. How? The technical standard of the commodities and the application of electronics, which are extremely costly, has raised the price of these goods. It probably makes sense to create a proportion of the equipment—especially the small capacities—with simpler, and consequently cheaper, controls. The production of small machinery, which we have already mentioned, also partly solves this problem. As for newly assimilated, high-tech automated complexes, it is sensible to take as the base price the lower price needed on transfer to large-scale series production rather than the higher price during the manufacture of the first series. This will also provide an incentive for manufacturers and will force them to expand faster. In short, both sides need to look at this question carefully. The radical reform is providing us all with new levers and opportunities and prompting a different style of economic relations—those of equitable partners.

[Nikitin] By virtue of the high rates of renewal of the food industry machine building subsector that you have mentioned, Pavel Vasilyevich?

[Finogenov] If everything goes as planned, and that is the case at present, the program will be fulfilled in its entirety and precisely on schedule.

[Nikitin] And nothing is impeding this program? Admittedly, I haven't encountered anything like these programs in our country for a long time. Won't the same thing happen again as happened with the "Kirovets" tractor? You created a powerful machine which was, however, often forced to run idle since related sectors failed to provide it with tractor-mounted tools and other cultivation implements even though everything was precisely coordinated and ratified at a high level then, too.

[Finogenov] Regarding our sector, there is in fact everything necessary for us to successfully cope with the program. All the same the conduct of our associates from the civilian sectors and local organs of territorial management does once again prompt caution. Whereas, say, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry produces a sufficient quantity of electrical stun devices for the slaughter of cattle, there are holdups in our supply of electric motors. The shortage of progressive packing materials, which should be provided by enterprises in the chemical and light industry sectors, also impedes things. Nor do the local authorities have a clear-cut idea or—more correctly—an understanding of the importance of the matter. Where possible, we are already carrying out reconstruction and construction using the own-resources method. Help from local construction workers would be most appropriate. But the Ukrainian, Latvian, and Lithuanian SSR Councils of Ministers respond by refusing on various pretexts to allow construction workers into our nonmilitary facilities—even to resolve their collectives' long-standing social problems.

[Nikitin] It is surprising, but the press and monitoring organs usually don't receive reports from your enterprises in a timely manner about how things are going at such facilities in the sector. Obviously, the inertia of secrecy is still powerful everywhere.... As you remarked, this is the first time that you have met a PRAVDA representative. Won't the nonmilitary programs also find themselves, as it were, outside public control?

[Finogenov] With regard to government and party organs, this control always has been and will remain total, exhaustive, and effective. We do not have inexplicable secrets from society and from the state. Especially now, in the era of conversion.

Yazov Thanks Sailors for Persian Gulf Service

PM1503172789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 First Edition p2

[Report by Captain 1st Rank V. Shirokov: "Reward for Bravery"]

[Text] The large antisubmarine warfare ship "Marshal Shaposhnikov" spent many days out in the ocean. It covered more than 20,000 miles. The crew has the experience of combat work in the Persian Gulf behind it. There, in one of the world's "hot spots," the seamen ensured reliable protection for Soviet ships and earned an excellent appraisal for fulfilling their task for the motherland. Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, has expressed gratitude to the ship's crew for the exemplary fulfillment of its duties in the Persian Gulf and 50 seamen have been rewarded with valuable gifts. The "Marshal Shaposhnikov" has taken first place in the task force competition for the last training year .

* Military Tribunal Resentences Officer

WA18010523 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 March 89 p 12

[Unattributed article: "Afghan"]

On 15 February of this year an article by G. Bocharov was published under such a heading. Among other things it discussed violations of the law committed during the war in Afghanistan by several servicemen....

It brought to our attention the occurence of an execution of occidental prisoners sanctioned by an officer Rudykh and carried out by a private Shmatkov. It mentioned the judicial process as a result of which the private was condemned to serve a real sentence while the officer who gave the order was protected by an amnesty and was freed from confinement.

From the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR we were informed:

On 9 July 1987, not much more than a month after Iu.A. Shmatkov's sentence took effect, the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court having reviewed the appeal of the Main Military Procurator, set aside the sentence indicated in the article in the case of G.L. Rudykh and sent the case back for a new judicial consideration to the military tribunal of the Turkestan Military District by a different body of judges.

In reviewing the case and considering the changes in the sentence introduced by the Military Collegium for the crimes committed by him on 30 September 1987, officer Rudykh was sentenced by the military tribunal to 5 years' confinement in an intensified regime corrective-labor colony with deprivation of military rank. The amnesty is not applicable to Rudykh. The court decided to appeal to the corresponding state organs to require Rudykh to return his order of the Red Star and his medals.

On 10 February 1988 the sentence of the military tribunal condemning G.L. Rudykh took effect.